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THE TUDOR TRANSLATIONS

EDITED BY

W. E. HENLEY

XXVII

THE CHRONICLE OF
FROISSART

TRANSLATED OUT OF FRENCH BY

SIR JOHN BOURCHIER
LORD BERNERS

ANNIS 1523–25

With an Introduction by

WILLIAM PATON KER

VOLUME I

LONDON
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ALFREDO MILNER
AFRICANO

INTRODUCTION

THE *Chronicles* of Froissart is among the books which have received the fullest share of honour of all kinds, from their own day to the present, without any grudging voice being raised against their triumph, or any sensible diminution of their renown. Froissart is still the name that stands for chivalrous adventure in the minds of all readers of history; he is accepted without question as the author from whom the portraiture of that age is to be sought. The signs of his fame are everywhere: in the great libraries, in glorious manuscripts like the Harleian one, in the old printed copy that Lord Hunsdon used as a family Bible to record on its fly-leaf the births of his children, in a thousand testimonies from writers of all sorts, among which chiefly those of Gray and of Scott are memorable. Gray called him 'the Herodotus of a barbarous age,' and recommended him to his correspondents. Scott, whose French visitors found that he talked the language of the old chronicles when he was at a loss for modern words in speaking to them, has put the praise of Froissart in the mouth of Claverhouse, and has expressed it in this indirect way, in *Old Mortality*, more vividly than in a review or an historical essay. Lord Berners was happily led in his undertaking to translate the *Chronicles*, though indeed one may believe that with his tastes it was hardly possible for him to do otherwise. This book of Lord Berners is one that put the English tongue in possession of something on which the whole Western world, for generations past, had relied for

Froissart his Book and his Fame

His Encomiasts

His Translator

INTRODUCTION

information about itself and its manners. That Froissart should be turned into English before the last reflection of the age of Froissart had died away in the new era of the Sixteenth Century, that the courtly poet and historian of the times of Edward III. should be brought by translation into a closer partnership with Chaucer, was a thing to be desired more than most of the literary things provided under the reign of Henry VIII.; and it was fortunately accomplished by the man whose mission it might seem to have been to rescue as much as he could of the treasures of the Middle Ages before they were overwhelmed by new learning. He translated Froissart, he translated *Huon of Bordeaux*.

I

The Weakness of English Mediæval Literature

Lord Berners is a follower of Chaucer and Malory as an interpreter in English of some of the courtly French literature which was for the most part so imperfectly understood, though so generously admired, in the island of Britain. What the English had been deprived of by the accidents of their history was the peculiar glory of the Middle Ages; they had no proper courtly romance, no chivalrous stories in their own language of the same temper as those of France. Many things are attainable in a literature like that of England between the Norman Conquest and the Revival of Learning; but what was not attainable before Chaucer, and very feebly remembered after him, was precisely that sort of grace which belongs to a Court, to a refined affected mode of sentiment, like that of the *Romaunt of the Rose*. Before Chaucer and Gower acquired it, the English had not the right of entry to that world; and in most of their persevering studies of the way to be gentle, they are little better than the ambitious gallants in Elizabethan comedy whose education has been neglected, the Gullios who learn manners by the book of compliments. Nothing in history is more desperate than the attempts of English writers under the

Save for Chaucer

Plantagenets to master the secret of French courtliness. Sometimes the failure is ludicrous, as in the 'rime doggerel' of the ordinary minstrels; sometimes there is success of another sort, as in the great alliterative poems, which are not courtly in the French manner, though they are magnificent. Meantime, the days go by and the fashion changes, and but for Chaucer and a few others there might have been nothing left in English with the character most distinctive of those times—the singular quality of beauty found in the mediæval literature of France. Later, when the mediæval forms were still nearer their vanishing, at the hour 'when all the lights grow dim,' the most notable work of French romance, in which all the graces, and not those of the Courts only, are included, the stories of Lancelot, Tristram, the Quest of the Grail and the *Mort Artus*, were rendered by Sir Thomas Malory in language that remains among the most wonderful things of the world. The reproach of England was taken away, though late and with difficulty. Nothing could give to England of the time of Henry III. such poems and stories as were written in other lands in those days; but under Edward IV. it was not yet impossible to recover from the past, out of 'the French book,' a version of the stories that had been too high for the landward-bred and simple-minded English authors to copy fairly, in the bygone times when 'the French book' was still new. What happened with Froissart was something of the same kind. There was not enough of the Fourteenth Century represented in English literature. Even after all that Chaucer had done, there was something left to do. Chaucer had gone beyond his age in many respects; he is greater than Froissart; but in the same measure that he surpasses him in imagination and in art he leaves room for the other man with his other mode of regarding and rendering the world. Froissart's mode is more peculiarly and thoroughly the property of the Fourteenth Century than Chaucer's, through his very want of those

Sir Thomas Malory

Chaucer and Froissart

INTRODUCTION

affinities with Shakespeare and Cervantes that are found in the variety of Chaucer's workmanship and in his more liberal genius. Just as England, so long impeded and depressed by the historical accidents of its language, obtained from Malory some of the riches of the Thirteenth Century, which at the time when they were first produced it had no skill to make its own, so from Lord Berners it received back Froissart, not too late to make amends for the loss it had suffered through the want of such a chronicler in the native tongue. It was by an injustice of fortune that England had been refused in the Middle Ages an historian writing English as other tongues were written by the French, Italian, and Spanish authors, by Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, by Villani, by Ayala, by Ramon Muntaner, by the Provençal biographers of the poets. What could be done to redress this grievance was done by Lord Berners for history, as by Malory for romance; and the Fourteenth Century, illustrious in the English language by so many things of a different kind, by *Troilus* and the *Canterbury Tales*, by the poems of *Sir Gawain* and of *Piers Plowman*, to name no more, was now presented with a new author, who belonged even more closely and intimately to the reign of Edward III. than Chaucer himself: an author whose whole business, it might be said, was to live in the Fourteenth Century and tell what he saw there.

Lord Berners his gift to England

His Achievement

Lord Berners is not among the greatest of translators—his rank is nearer Caxton than Malory—but his version of Froissart is a true version: it is really Froissart in English, and in English that sounds like Froissart. As Malory gives in English (with much of his own besides) the tone of the old French language of the *Queste del St. Graal*, so the sentences of Lord Berners' translation are of the Fourteenth Century and not of the Sixteenth. He tried occasionally to write a style of his own, and was proud of it, no doubt: it appears in his prefaces, a style rhetorical and cultivated.

He also translated, besides these *Chronicles* and the stories of *Sir Huon* and *Arthur of Little Britain*, two modern works, one of which, the *Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius*, written in Spanish by Guevara, has a reputation as the parent of *Euphues*, while the other, also Spanish, of an earlier generation, the *Prison of Love*, by Diego de San Pedro, has the same Euphuistic syntax, and probably did a great deal to establish the new fashion of prose that was taken up long afterwards by Lyly and his contemporaries. Two opposite kinds of prose are represented in the works translated by Lord Berners. On the one hand are the writers who write because they have something to say, whether it be the story of the wars of England, France, Scotland, and Spain, or the wanderings of Sir Huon in Fairyland. On the other are the Spanish Euphuists explaining, to a world that runs its clauses into one another, endlessly, the counter doctrine of precise constructions and elegant phrases. Rhetoric flourished under the Tudors, along with religious controversy, in the silence of the poets; it put many honest people out of conceit with their old-fashioned romances. Lord Berners does not allow it to vitiate his Froissart. His Euphuist translations came later than his Froissart for one thing, and he does not seem to have had any particular affection for that variety of prose, though his preface to Froissart shows that other kinds of rhetorical display had an occasional attraction for him. Such things are kept out of his translation of the history: the body of his Froissart bears hardly a trace of the rhetoric that illuminates the Prologue. The good taste of Lord Berners, which is not conspicuous in his few original paragraphs, is shown in his devotion to his author, and in his refusal to let the original style be misrepresented. His very want of literary ambition saves him: he trusts in the matter of the story, and the right words find themselves translating the right words of the French. It is not always the case

The Spanish Euphuists

Rhetoric and Plain English

INTRODUCTION

that a writer is saved by his subject: there are many historians, from Ammianus Marcellinus to Saxo Grammaticus, who have told good stories in extravagant words, with a dictionary broken loose and rampant over their pages. But it happens sometimes that the matter prescribes the form, and this was the case with Lord Berners, as it may have been with Froissart himself. The history has no grammar or forms of sentence that in any way interrupt the narrative. It is in the old style—the style of the French mediæval historian. The Fourteenth Century is not defrauded in this translation by the imposition of any Tudor order of rhetoric on the clear outlines of the structure. It is with Lord Berners as with King James's translators of the Bible: in the Preface they indulge themselves, but their main work is different and contains nothing the least resembling 'that bright occidental star' which shines in the Dedication to the King.

II

Lord Berners

Sir John Bourchier,[1] second Lord Berners, was born about 1467, and succeeded his grandfather, the first Baron, in 1474. 'A martial man, well seen in all military discipline,' is the phrase in which Fuller describes him among the Worthies of Hertfordshire; and the record of his life, which is not full, is that of a loyal servant of the king.

Soldier

He took part in the discomfiture of the Cornish rebels at Blackheath in 1496 and in other warfare later, as at the

Ambassador

capture of Terouenne in 1513. He went in an embassy to Spain in 1518, and suffered from want of money through the winter that followed; he borrowed afterwards from King Henry VIII., and left the king his creditor at the end of his

[1] The life of Lord Berners has been written by Mr. Sidney Lee in his Introduction to the *Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux* (Early English Text Society, 1882-1887) and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and by Mr. G. C. Macaulay in his Introduction to *Berners' Froissart* in the Globe Edition.

life. His career is a good deal like that of Sir Thomas Wyatt, with less adventure in it, and nothing comparable to Wyatt's heroic encounter with the Emperor Charles, but showing the same devotion to the service in which he was engaged. INTRODUCTION Public Servant

In December 1520 Lord Berners was made deputy of Calais, and held the office till his death in March 1533. It was at Calais, probably, that all his writing was done, and his writing for those years must have been a chief part of his occupation. The public interest was not neglected by him, but one may judge from the bulk of his writings—the *Chronicles of Froissart*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Arthur of Little Britain*—how large an amount of time must have been spent at the desk in matters not belonging to the office of governor. The *Chronicles* of Froissart was published in 1523 and 1525—two volumes, 'imprinted at London in Fletestrete by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kinges moost noble grace.' From this work Lord Berners went on to his translation of romances. It is not known whether or not the *Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux* was published in his lifetime—that is, before March of 1533. The earliest extant copy of *Huon of Burdeux*, according to Mr. Lee's judgment in his edition of the romance, was printed about 1534, probably by Wynkyn de Worde. *The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe in to englushe by the noble Johan Bourghcher knyght lorde Barners* was printed by Robert Redborne, without date. Whatever the order in which these works were translated, they probably came after Froissart and before the smaller books taken (indirectly) from the Spanish: the *Castell of Love* and the *Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius Emperour and eloquent oratour*. The colophon of the latter gives its date of composition; in the uncertainty of Lord Berners' literary history the dates of Froissart and of the *Golden Book* are

Governor

Translator

Froissart

Romances

Diego de San Pedro

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fairly well determined:—'Thus endeth the volume of Marke 'Aurelie emperour, otherwise called the golden boke, trans- 'lated out of Frenche into englyshe by Johñ Bourchier 'knyghte lorde Barners, deputie generall of the kynges 'toune of Caleis and marches of the same, at the instant Guevara 'desire of his neuewe syr Francis Bryan knyghte, ended 'at Caleys the tenth day of Marche in the yere of the 'Reygne of our souerayn lorde kynge HENRY the viii. 'the XXIII.' So in the Edition of 1536 and most others; the First Edition of 1534 is said to read xxiiii. The twenty-third year of King Henry is 1532, the twenty-fourth is 1533; and according to this the *Golden Book* was finished by Lord Berners six days before his death, for he died on the 16th of March in 1533, and the book was finished on the 10th.

Berners and the *Golden Book*

It is probably vain to suppose that the transition from romance to courtly rhetoric, shown in the selection of Guevara after *Huon of Bordeaux*, is significant of any progress or change of taste in the translator. Lord Berners, with all his literary skill, is careless about distinctions of kinds: he is not critical nor scrupulous. His choice of the *Golden Book* does not mean that he was tired of history or romance; it does not mean that he had been convinced of the laxity of old-fashioned syntax, and was bent on living cleanly according to the rules of the point-device grammarians. It means only that the *Golden Book* was in favour, as *Huon* had been and continued to be, and that Lord Berners, with his love of stories undiminished, was yet willing to take up another kind of book in which gentlefolk found pleasure and entertainment. That Lord Berners

The *Huon of Bordeaux*

is not to be trusted for critical appreciation is shown in his attention to *Arthur of Little Britain*. For the story of *Huon of Bordeaux*, at least for the earlier part, there is nearly as much to be said as for the adventures of the *Morte D'Arthur* itself, considered as a specimen of authentic

romance, such as was current in the best ages, and was fitted to be read by the author of the *Faery Queene*. But *Arthur of Little Britain* is a different story, not among the best, but one of the mechanical rearrangements of the common matter that repeated the old stock incidents and sentiments wearily, a book that one would save, indeed, from the judgment of the Curate and the Barber, but more for the honour of its ancestry and for the noble language, than for any merit in the author's imagination. The translation may be reckoned among the fine achievements of Lord Berners: its style is that of his Froissart, and is enough to make one repent of having spoken harshly about the story of the *Petit Artus de Bretaigne*. The preface of the translator reveals the mind of Lord Berners more clearly than anything else in the scanty sum of his personal utterances. He is not an acute, discreet rhetorician: he is immersed in the matter of old chronicles so that he cannot tell the waking from the dreaming vision; so much absorbed in the charm of narrative that any narrative has power to draw him. He plunges into the story of *Arthur of Little Britain* before he knows where he is or what it is about; only when he has gone some way there comes a shock of misgiving, and he repents that he has engaged upon 'a fayned mater wherin semeth to be so many unpossybylytees.' However, he is in it and may as well go on; *urceus exit*; if it will not do for a sober chronicle, it is a story, at any rate; and there are others, much respected, in which there are equally wonderful things. But the whole Preface must be quoted, and it hardly needs a commentary to explain what was in the mind of Lord Berners when he wrote it; his good faith, his perfectly sincere delight in narrative, his secondary regard, by an afterthought, for the author's 'vertuous entent'; his admiration, without the heat of a competitor, for proficiency in 'fresh ornate polished English' and 'the facundious art of rhetoric.'

INTRODUCTION and the *Petit Artus*

Why and how he worked

INTRODUCTION

His Prologue to the *Petit Artus*

'*Here foloweth the Translatour's Prologue:* For as moche as it is delectable to all humayne nature to rede and to here these auncient noble hystoryes of the chyvalrous feates and marciall prowesses of the vyctoryous knyghtes of tymes paste, whose tryumphaunt dedes, yf wrytynge were not, sholde be had clene oute of remembraunce; and also bycause that ydelnesse is reputed to be the moder of al vices; wherfore somwhat in eschewynge therof, and in the waye of lowli erudycyon and learnynge, I John Bourghchere knyghte lorde Berners have enterprysed to translate out of Frensshe in to our maternall tongue a noble hystory, makynge mencyon of the famous dedes of the ryght valyaunt knyght Arthur sonne and heyre to the noble duke of Brytayne, and of the fayre lady Florence, doughter and heyre to the myghty Emendus, kynge of the noble realme of Soroloys, and of the grete trouble that they endured, or they attayned to the perfourmance of theyr vertuous amorous desyers; for fyrste they overcame many harde and straunge adventures, the whiche as to our humayne reason sholde seme to be incredible. Wherfore after that I had begon this sayd processe I had determined to have left and gyven up my laboure, for I thoughte it sholde have ben reputed but a folye in me to translate be seming suche a fayned mater, wherin semeth to be so many unpossybylytees. How be it than I called agayne to my remembraunce that I had redde and seen many a sondrye volume of dyverse noble hystoryes wherin were contayned the redoubted dedes of the auncyent invynsyble conquerours and of other ryght famous knyghtes who acheved many a straunge and wonderfull adventure, the whyche by playne letter as to our understandynge sholde seme in a maner to be supernaturall: wherfore I thought that this present treatyse myght as well be reputed for trouth as some of those, and also I doubted not but that the first auctour of this boke devysed it not with out some maner of trouthe or vertuous entent. The whyche consyderacyons, and other, gave me agayne audacyte to contynue forth my fyrste purpose tyll I had fynysshed this sayd boke, not presumynge that I have reduced it in to fresshe ornate polysshed

Englysshe, for I know myself insufficient in the facondyous arte of rethoryke, nor also I am but a lerner of the language of Frensshe. How be it, I truste my symple reason hath ledde to the understandynge of the true sentence of the mater, accordinge to the whiche I have folowed as nere as I coude, desyrynge all the reders and herers therof to take this my rude translacion in gre, and yf any faute be, to laye it to myn unconnynge and derke ingnoraunce, and to mynysshe, adde or augment as they shall fynde cause requysyte. And in theyr so doynge I shall praye to God that after this vayne and transytory lyfe he may brynge them unto the perdurable joye of heven. *Amen.* INTRODUCTION

'Thus endeth the Translatour's Prologue.'

Lord Berners is a fortunate writer, whatever mistakes he may have made about *Arthur of Little Britain*. He was not turned aside by vanities: 'the facundious art of rhetoric' did not corrupt him beyond a few innocent traces of ornamental language in his preliminary discourses. It was not his genius to do 'any eclipsing thing,' like *Euphues*, while he had the instinct for sound language in continuous narration, of the kind that does not glare or flash, and may easily escape notice for its goodness till some occasion comes to test it. How well the ordinary sentences of Berners will come through examination has been shown by Sir Henry Craik in his comparison of Berners' *Froissart* with Johnes's.[1] The excellence of Lord Berners is nothing dazzling or astounding; it comes from a secure command of the right words, in plenty sufficient for all his purposes, with an easy syntax, easily corresponding to his French originals, and turning them into English without any grammatical heaviness or sign of labour. As compared to Malory there is a want of volume and variety in Lord Berners, due no doubt in part to the character of the text he was translating; for Froissart, with all his glory, is not like Malory's 'French

Berners his Merits

Berners and Johnes

Berners and Malory

[1] *English Prose Selections*, i. 123 *sq.*

INTRODUCTION

book' in opportunities for splendid diction, and Huon's ally, Oberon, is too substantial and sensible a personage for the enchanted twilight of the *Morte D'Arthur*. But, failing the greatest qualities of Malory's prose, there is nothing wanting to Lord Berners in the kind of literature he has chosen. He comes at the end of the Middle Ages in a reign not distinguished by much good writing, when poetry in England is nearly dead, and when prose is threatened by a recurrence of the old ornamental pedantries of 'facondyous rethoryke,' with the alternative of a rather prim correctness under the rule of classical scholars. His success consists in his steady following of the old fashion, the mediæval fashion, of composition, with a regard for just such excellences of form as are convenient in such a mode of writing. Lord Berners used the mediæval syntax so as to give few openings for censure, even from exacting critics; and before the confused Elizabethan time, when prose seemed capable of most things except self-command, he showed how clearness, simplicity, an even and continuous discourse, might be obtained without departing ostensibly from the syntax of the Fourteenth Century. Any sentences from his *Froissart* will exhibit this plain, straightforward style in its simplicity and security :—

His Opportunity

Success and Method

'Thus at the beginnynge the Frenchmen and they of Aragon fought valiantly, so that the good knightes of Englande endured moche payne. That day Sir Johan Chandos was a good knight, and dyde ůnder his baner many a noble feate of armes; he adventured himselfe so farre that he was closed in amonge his enemyes, and so sore overpressed that he was felled downe to the erthe. And on him there felle a great and a bigge man of Castell, called Martyne Ferrant, who was gretly renomed of hardynesse amonge the Spanyardes, and he dyde his entent to have slayne Sir Johan Chandos, who lay under him in great danger. Than Sir Johan Chandos remembred of a knyfe that he had in his bosome, and drewe it out, and strake this Martyne

so in the backe and in the sydes that he wounded him to dethe as he lay on him. Than Sir Johan Chandos tourned hym over, and rose quickely on his fete ; and his men were there aboute hym, who had with moche payne broken the prease to come to hym, wher as they saw him felled.' INTRODUCTION

There is nothing remarkable about this sort of English except that it cannot be bettered. There is no particular formula for it : only, it shows a care for rhythm such as was not always found along with the care for classical periods in the writers of that time. The grammar of Lord Berners is one that pays attention to the right spacing of phrases according to their weighty syllables : when this is assured, there is less need for the grammatical complications of clauses in their right order and degree ; the easy constructions of the old style leave it free to the author to tune his syllables to his own mind. The grammatical pattern of the classical schools has little attraction for him when he is taken up with the other device, of free enunciation with no broken, confused, or jarring sounds to break the tenor of it. His Grammar

There is nothing in Lord Berners like the exorbitant fondness for novel and emphatic words, splendid or swaggering, such as are noted in some of the Elizabethan translators. He has a rich and full vocabulary, but it does not blaze out in single gems. It corresponds to the vocabulary of Froissart, the beauty of which, as of all good French, and not least in the French mediæval prose, lies in the harmony between the single words and the syntactic idiom. The prose is not a new invention ; it is natural, in the sense that it is founded upon the usages of conversation, quick and expressive, well provided with plenty of words for interesting things, unimpeded by drawling rhetoric, and free from any anxiety or curiosity about rules of good taste, because it had good taste to begin with, and did not need to think about it. The speech of Aymerigot Marcel, for instance, which may be pondered word for word and phrase for phrase as an infallible piece of His Vocabulary and Froissart's Sampled

INTRO-DUCTION

good syntax and good diction, is expressed altogether in common and well-established forms, from the beginning, 'Ha! a! du traiteur vieillart, dist Aymerigot,' to the end, 'comment qu'il prende ne adviegne du nouvel.' This is rendered not quite fully by Lord Berners, but in the right manner of the original, with the same security and absence of constraint:—

'Than tydinges came to Aymergot Marcell, where he was purchasyng of frendes to have reysed the siege before the fortresse of Vandoys, that it was gyven up. Whan he herde therof he demaunded howe it fortuned: it was shewed hym howe it was by reason of a skrymysshe, and by the issuying out of his uncle Guyot du Sall unadvysedly. Ah, that olde traytour, quod Aymergot; by saynte Marcell, if I had hym here nowe, I shulde sle hym with myne owne handes; he hath dyshonoured me and all my companyons. At my departynge I straytely enjoyned hym that for no maner of assaute or skrymysshe made by the Frenchmen he shulde in no wyse open the barryers, and he hath done the contrary: this domage is nat to be recovered, nor I wote nat whether to go. They of Caluset and they of Donsac wyll kepe the peace, and my companyons be spredde abrode lyke men dyscomfyted; they dare never assemble agayne togyther; and though I had them togyther, yet I wote nat whyder to bring them. Thus, all thynge consydred, I am in a harde parte, for I have gretly dyspleased the French kynge, the duke of Berrey, and the lordes of Auvergne, and all the people of the countrey, for I have made them warre the peace durynge: I had trusted to have won, but I am nowe in a great adventure to lese, nor I wotte nat to whom to resorte to axe counsayle. I wolde nowe that I and my goodes with my wyfe were in Englande; there I shulde be in surety; but howe shulde I get thyder and cary all my stufe with me? I shulde be robbed twenty tymes or I coulde gette to the see, for all the passages in Poictou, in Rochell, in Fraunce, in Normandy and in Pycardy are straytely kept; it wyll be harde to scape fro takyng: and if I be taken, I shall be sente to the Frenche kynge, and so I

shall be loste and all myne. I thynke the surest way for me were to drawe to Burdeaulx, and lytell and lytell to get my good thyder, and to abyde there tyll the warre renewe agayne, for I have good hoope that after this treuce warre shall be open agayne bytwene Englande and Fraunce. Thus Aymergot Marcell debated the matter in hymselfe; he was hevy and sorowfull, and wyste nat what waye to take, outher to recover some fortresse in Auvergne, or els to go to Burdeaux, and to sende for his wife thider, and for his goodes lytell and lytell secretely. If he hadde done so, he had taken the surest waye; but he dyde contrary, and therby lost all, lyfe and godes. Thus fortune payeth the people whan she hath sette them on the highest parte of her whele, for sodainly she reverseth them to the lowest parte, ensample by this Aymergotte. It was sayde he was well worthe a hundred thousande frankes, and all was lost on a daye; wherfore I may well saye that fortune hath played her pagiaunt with hym, as she hath done with many mo, and shall do.'

The French is better and more lively, breaking out, for instance, in exclamation after the reference to the truce ('après ces trièves, *mal fuissent elles prinses ne venues*, entre France et Angleterre'); but the English, though less mercurial, is the language of one who is free-born, and who has not had to pay the price of the weary rhetorical schools for his command of phrases.

There are blemishes, of course, in Lord Berners' *Froissart*. There are mistranslations and confusions. But these hardly affect the reputation of the book as a history well written and pleasant to read. 'It might have been better, if the author had taken more pains'—this respectable formula comes to mind rather too often in the presence of Lord Berners' easy-going translations, which sometimes recall the humours of the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 'mills-to-the-wind' and suchlike. But the mistakes are not enough to spoil the story, any more than the Psalms have been spoilt in Coverdale's version, and others, by similar failures.

In his defects'

Despite

INTRODUCTION

A Misfortune

It is something against the vogue of Lord Berners—a small thing—that he lived in a time when English spelling had contrived to make the language look other than beautiful. It is unfortunate that his clear phrases should be muffled in the misplaced and useless spellings that seem exactly the right dress for the shambling verse of the poets of that day. 'Barkesse' and 'marchesse' (for 'barks' and 'marches'), 'physycyon,' 'pertaynynge,' 'cherysshynge,' 'concludedde,' and so forth, are well enough for decrepit Chaucerian allegories, and for such moral interludes as make desolate the Tudor reigns for more than half the century; but we could have wished Lord Berners a habit better fitted for his mode of narrative, something less cumbrous, like the spelling of Chaucer or of Dunbar. Unhappily to this grievance, if such it be, Lord Berners has added considerably—partly through the fault of his French text, partly through the original and acquired ineptitude of the printer, but with more than can be fairly put down to their discredit—by his unqualified neglect of the historical names. It is beyond all language of complaint. The man who has been led into the intricate fallacies of the names in Berners' *Froissart* is only too glad to escape in silence.

III

Berners and Euphuism

The *Castell of Love* and the *Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius* are different in kind from the other translations of Lord Berners, as well as much less imposing in size. What they want in bulk they make up in pretensions of another sort: it is in these that Lord Berners shows himself a Euphuist, and the *Golden Boke* especially has had ascribed to it by some critics the honour of having first introduced the rhetorical antithetic manner into English. It is impossible to say, in our ignorance about the shadowy character of Lord Berners, what motives led him to these books, or whether he really saw much good in their contrasted kinds

of vanity. The *Castell of Love* is an allegory of the school of the *Romaunt of the Rose*; the *Golden Boke*, so called by its author, is a pompous exercise in ornamental sentences by a disciple of the new learning. There is no need to think of the *Chronicles* of Froissart in order to show up the tenuity of the one and the inanity of the other; the history of *Arthur of Little Britain* by comparison to either of them looks almost as substantial and as full of vitality as *Don Quixote*. Of course, as Froissart himself has proved, and Chaucer also, it is possible for a man to love at one and the same time the history of real characters and the phantoms of allegory; but in the careless versions of the *Carcel de Amor* and the *Libro Aureo* there is no sign of any strong affection for either work. We may be sure that Lord Berners was fond of stories; it is not proved that he had a liking either for the old courtly manner of allegory or for the new pedantry of moralising. In default of other theories about his literary taste, we may accept the statement of these two books as exactly true: they were done to order, 'at the instance of the Lady Elizabeth Carew,' who asked for the *Castell of Love*, and 'at the instant desire of his nephew Sir Francis Brian, knight,' who admired the *Libro Aureo*. Both books were much in favour, and Lord Berners, whatever may be said against his Euphuistic clients, has the advantage, if that be anything, of having kept his English readers well abreast of contemporary literature in translating them. They were what every one in Italy, Spain, and France was reading, or wishing to read, or ashamed to be supposed not to have read. Most probably he cared very little for them himself.

Why Berners Euphuised

The two rhetorical books are very much unlike one another except in the common taste for a particular kind of sentence. It is quite possible to fall into the idle mood for which the simple allegory of the *Carcel de Amor* seems occupation enough, and with nothing strained or absurd in its gentle, honourable sentiments. For the sake of the

The Castell of Love

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Garden of the Rose, and Chaucer's Anelida, and 'the floure of hem that maken in France,' and all the great company of the chivalrous poets, it may be granted to this late author of the *Castell of Love* to show the way back over seldom-trodden ground into the old pleasances, the dreamy air, the vanishing courts and temples of the Hollow Land. 'Many are the Mighty Ones,' and there is still some power in those shadows of old poetry, though few steps wander now into the region of their enchantment. Perhaps now and then a careless bibliographer, when he thinks least of danger, may find himself caught by the spell.

The Golden Boke

There is no such danger and no such charm in the *Golden Boke*, however much it may have prided itself, and called itself the *Dial of Princes*, and made the Emperor Marcus Aurelius help in the furtherance of its pretentious conceit. The Golden Book so styled is really a Brazen Calf, of the pattern invented specially for the Renaissance and its idolaters. The author, Antonio Guevara, Bishop of Guadix and of Mondoñedo, had a taste for sounding moral sentences, and for criticism of life in the manner of Polonius. He included also in his theory the principles of Iago's moral essay on the *Characters of Women*, which are not those of the *Castell of Love*. Nothing could be more unlike the chivalry of Diego de San Pedro than the brisk remarks about the inferiority of women in the other Euphuist; both authors seem to have been equally popular, though the points of view are hardly reconcilable, except through the rhetorical taste that the two writers have in common. The casuistry of the amorist San Pedro is expressed in the same manner of writing as 'the answere of M. themperour whan Faustyne his wife demaunded the key of his study,' a lecture to inquisitive females which is not now so well known as it deserves to be.

Guevara and Diego de San Pedro

That the Spanish authors were the first to give currency to the antithetic way of phrasing adopted by Euphues seems

to be proved, and in the history of this kind of prose Diego de San Pedro comes before Guevara. It was of course a very old device, as Plato bears witness;[1] but it was in Spain at the end of the Fifteenth Century that it was established as the proper manner of good composition, and the *Carcel de Amor* was one of the books that taught it.[2] A crucial instance to show this may be found in the dedications of different versions of the book. It was translated from Spanish into Italian, from Italian into French, from French

[1] The speech of Agathon in the *Symposium* is pure Euphues, and is reported by Plato with the same motive and the same zest as Shakespeare had in his rhetorical parodies in *Love's Labour's Lost* and elsewhere:—οὗτος δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτριότητος μὲν κενοῖ, οἰκειότητος δὲ πληροῖ, τὰς τοιάσδε ξυνόδους μετ' ἀλλήλων πάσας τιθεὶς ξυνιέναι, ἐν ἑορταῖς, ἐν χοροῖς, ἐν θυσίαις γιγνόμενος ἡγεμών πραότητα μὲν πορίζων, ἀγριότητα δ' ἐξορίζων, φιλόδωρος εὐμενείας, ἄδωρος δυσμενείας, etc., *Symp.* 197 D. Earlier in the same dialogue the fashionable mode is touched upon, 'for in this way the learned instruct me to keep the balance of syllables':—Παυσανίου δὲ παυσαμένου, διδάσκουσι γάρ με ἴσα λέγειν οὑτωσὶ οἱ σοφοί, 185 C.

[2] Composed by Diego de San Pedro, at the request of Diego Hernandez, master of the pages (*alcayde de los donzeles*) and of other gentlemen of the Court. Printed by 'Fadrique aleman de Basilea' (Frederick of Basle) at Burgos in 1496. There are difficulties about the dates of the early editions. A Catalan version, Barcelona, Johan Rosenbach, is dated 1493. Diego de San Pedro repented of his very innocent vanity, and wrote a palinode confessing the blindness and errors of the *Carcel de Amor*, reprinted from the *Cancionero General*, Valencia, 1511, by Böhl de Faber, *Floresta de Rimas Antiguas Castellanas*, i. p. 152. The *Carcel de Amor* has alternative conclusions, the second written by Nicolas Nuñez: this addition is found in Berners' *Castell of Love*. Thus England comes into some slight relation with the poets of the court of Castile, who might have given better entertainment than is provided in their treatises and allegories, if Lord Berners had gone to the *Cancionero* instead of to their prose. Nicolas Nuñez has a beautiful poem to Our Lady, written in the measure which was not accepted in England till long after:—

O Virgen que a Dios pariste
y nos diste
a todos tan gran victoria,
torname alegre de triste
pues podiste
tornar nuestra pena en gloria.

Floresta, i. p. 7.

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into English. The dedications are different in the different languages, but one Euphuistic sentence is common to them all, and in the Italian and the French especially it stands out in contrast with what may be supposed the natural style, or rather the favourite affectations, of the translators :—

San Pedro

'Como quiera que primero que me determinasse estuve en grandes dubdas; vista vuestra discrecion temia, mirada vuestra virtud osava; en lo uno hallava el miedo, y en lo otro buscava la seguridad; y en fin escogí lo mas dañoso para mi verguença, y lo mas provechoso para lo que devia.'

Carcel de Amor, 1496.

Lelio de' Manfredi

'E ben che io stessi in gran dubio prima ch' io me determinassi, perche vedendo la sublimita e intellegentia sua io temevo, mirando la prudentia e virtute io havevo ardire; in l'una trovavo il timore, ne l'altra cercavo la sicurezza; in fine elessi il più dannoso per la mia vergogna e 'l più utile per il mio debito.'

Carcer d'Amore del magnifico Meser Lælio de' Manfredi. Venice, 1514.

Berthault de la Grise

'Pour laquelle chose premier que en ce labeur cultiver me determinasse en grande dubiosité et diversité d'ymaginations me trouvay. Car voyant la sublimité et intelligence de ton esperit ie craignoye, et premeditant la prudence et vertu m'enhardissoye et prenoye vigueur tres grande. En l'ung trouvoye la timeur et en l'autre seureté et hardyesse. En fin ie esleuz le plus dommageable pour ma vergogne et le plus utile pour mon devoir.'

La Prison d'Amours, laquelle traicte de l'amour de Leriano et de Laureole, faict en Espaignol, puis translaté en tusquan, et nagueres en langage francois. Paris, 1526.

Berners

'For or I first entred into this rude laboure, I was brought into great doubtfulnes, and founde myself in dyvers ymaginacions. For seyng the quycke intelligence of your spirite I feared, and againe the remembraunce of your vertue and prudence gave me audacite. In the one I founde feare, and in the other suertie and hardynes. Fynally, I did chose the moste unvaylable for myne owne shame and most utylitie. . . .'

After this in Lord Berners' text there is some confusion, due either to his habit of abridging, which sometimes interferes with the sense in *Froissart*, or to a printer's error. It does not matter much. The striking thing is that this passage of Euphuism is the only thing directly translated from the Spanish prologue in the Italian, and therefore, as the French translator had not the Spanish to work from, the only sentence of San Pedro's represented in the French dedication; and it is quite different in rhetorical form from the Italian and the French contexts, which again are different from one another. Lelio de' Manfredi of Ferrara uses another kind of ornament altogether, the language of Don Adriano or Sir Piercy Shafton, and not of the authentic Euphues: 'flattery and fustian,' quite unlike the neat syntactical play of the Spaniard. The Italian author, when left to himself, writes as follows:—

A Handful of Differences

'Che havendo con non pocha diligentia e faticha ridutto
'questo picciol volume da lo externo idioma in nostra ver-
'nacula lingua a V. Excellentia (vivo lume de la virtute;
'sola beltà de l'unica bellezza; verità aperta del vero;
'equale bilancia de la iustitia; splendida grandezza de la
'liberalitade; ferma columna de la clementia; stabile
'fortezza del casto pensiero; lucida gemma in oro nitido
'e pretioso; amenissimo fonte in florido giardino; micante
'luce nelle tenebre; guida, governo, albergo e habitaculo
'de le nove muse) l'ho dedicato; havendo forsi habiuto
'mancho rispetto a la grossezza del mio ingiegno e la ineptie
'de la lingua, che a la altezza sua.'

Italian

The French translator, René Berthault de la Grise, does not borrow or imitate this enthusiasm. His style admits some of the vocabulary of Pantagruel's Limousin; no more than the Italian's is it to be called properly Euphuistic, though it is sometimes under the influence of the balanced phrase:—'Et voyant
'que d'assez belles matieres traictoit mesmes pour ieunes
'dames l'entreprins mettre et translater dudit ytalien en

French

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'nostre vernacule et familiere langue francoise' . . . 'Et 'ie prie pour le surplus le plasmateur de la cause premiere 'longuement te conserver heureuse et prospere.' The Spanish sentence is marked at once as something of a different school.

It is very doubtful how far Lord Berners went himself in approval of the antithetic pattern. His dedication of the *Castell of Love*, which is mainly from the French, is more Euphuistic than the French, chiefly through the omission of a long sentence, where the French translator having facts to state broke down into mere ordinary hazardous grammar:—'Ce petit livret iadis converty de langue castil-'lanne et espaignolle en tusquan florentin par ung Ferraroys 'mon bon et singulier amy, des mains duquel en ce premier 'voyage que le treschrestien roy François premier de ce 'nom mon souverain seigneur a fait en Lombardie pour la 'conqueste de son estat ultramontain ay recouvert.' But it remains uncertain whether or not Lord Berners ever thought much about this grammatical business: at any rate he is utterly destitute of the literary character belonging properly to Euphuists, as he never thinks it worth while to utter anything of his own, and does not ask for admiration.

English

The Euphuistic Influence

There can be no question of the influence of the *Golden Boke* and the *Castell of Love* as examples of English prose. 'The fysher goth not to take dyvers fyshes of the river 'with one baite, nor the mariner with one nette entreth 'into the see. I promise you the depenesse of good wylles 'ought to be wonne with the depenesse of the harte, some 'with gyftes, some with wordes, some with promises, and 'some with favours.' So Lord Berners translates Guevara, and so the tune was given out for a large company of authors who were more anxious to profit by it than ever Lord Berners himself had been. The *Carcel de Amor*, with its different story, gave the same example of style:—'Dexar el 'camino que llevava parecia me desvario; no fazer el ruego

'de aquel que alli padescia figurava se me inhumanidad; en 'seguille havia peligro, y en dexalle flaqueza,' etc. INTRODUCTION

But that is not really the taste of Lord Berners. He thinks, indeed, that prefaces and dedications should be ornamental; but even here, as the dedications of *Froissart* and the romance of *Arthur* prove, when he was outside the danger of the *Castell of Love* he chose a different kind of language. In these prologues he makes experiments in decoration, but they are not Euphuistic in the strict sense of the term: that is, they do not consist in the antithetic arrangement of phrases as that was practised by San Pedro and Guevara. The device that falls in most completely with his taste is that of amplification: especially in the Prologue to *Froissart*, where his use of triple synonyms has often been remarked—'eschewe, avoyde, and utterly flye'; 'trouble, sorowe, and great adversyte'; 'right profitable, necessarie, and behovefull for the humayne lyfe.' The usage was nothing new, and it is not to be put down to the influence of the revival of learning: it was a piece of rhetoric common in the Middle Ages. The Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede puts regularly two synonyms for one word of the original,[1] and in the course of his *Froissart* Lord Berners might have come upon instances of triplets, as in some of the documents quoted by Froissart:—'the sayde thynges to holde and kepe and accomplysshe,' 'his subjectes, alies, and adherentes,' 'our officers, sergeauntes, or publike persones,' in 'the fourme and tenor of the letter on the peas made before Charters bitwene the kynges of Englande and Fraunce.' Froissart himself writes:—'Comment il peuissent prendre, eskieller, et embler villes, chastiaus, et fortereces.'

No True Euphuist

Amplification

In the Prologue to *Arthur of Little Britain* the synonyms are not scattered so freely; and as there is less appearance

Berners and Style

[1] J. M. Hart, *Rhetoric in the Translation of Bede*, in *An English Miscellany*. Oxford, 1901.

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of a mechanical repetition, the style of this piece of Lord Berners' writing has some advantage over the others. That he should speak of 'fresshe ornate polysshed Englysshe,' and confess his failure in 'the facondyous arte of rethoryke,' shows that he knew of the more ambitious methods of composition, and that there is something of literary criticism in his choice of language, though he makes no great parade of it. It is evident that he does not greatly care for such discourses as the praise of History with which he begins his *Froissart*. He might have written more, he says, but he was afraid that he might 'too sore torment' the reader; wherefore he will 'briefly come to a point.' His real business is with the translation, which may stand on its own merits; and it is in the translation of history that Lord Berners has done great things, in comparison to which his small original prefaces and his divagations into the Spanish rhetoric are unimportant.

His Blunders

As a translator he has many faults. Want of scholarship is shown in all his books: he is easily taken in by the first impression of a sentence, and does not wait to see that it is grammar, and not always if it make sense. For instance, in the *Golden Boke* he is thrown out by a simple inversion, and confounds subject and object in this way:—'I have redde in bokes and have proved it by myselfe, 'that the love of subjectes, the suretie of the prince, the 'dignitie of the empire, and the honour of the Senate, do 'conserve the prince, not with rigour but with gentyll 'conversation'; where the French has 'les conservent les princes'—princes keep the love of their subjects, and so forth, not by rigour but by affability. Some of his mistakes, it is true, are not of his own making. The French translator of Guevara (1531) had apparently before Lord Berners turned *pretor en los exercitos*, 'praetor in the armies,' into *preteur es exercices*, which becomes in English *pretour in exercises*.

and Those of his Originals

The *Castell of Love*, in spite of its title-page, was evidently

taken from the French version; and if Lord Berners and his printer between them place the opening scene 'in a shadowed 'darke valey in the mountayne called Serva de Marenus in 'the countrey of Masedonia,' it is because the French author before him had turned the Sierra Morena into 'Sierre de Moriene.' Lord Berners had some knowledge of what the French books might do in disfiguring proper names, and in the Prologue to *Froissart* gives up the attempt to rectify them. He is not to be blamed indiscriminately for the cruel travesties of names in *Froissart*, though he might have done more to find out what the wonderful misspellings of the French printers really meant. Most of the names in Pynson's text are the result of an elaborate process of disfigurement. Froissart probably took some care, but he had no talent for spelling: he was content to write *l'amoureus Tubulus*, meaning Tibullus, and *Oleus* for Aeolus, and *Supernascus* for Parnassus; hence it is no wonder that English names were altered in his writing of them. Then came the copying scribes and the French printers, whose work Lord Berners had before him. *Souegne* and *Melbegue*, for Sweden and Norway, in Berners, chapter lxxiv., are derived from the French text, and may stand as an example of the difficulties which the Translator found too many for him. They were increased by the English printers, whose work was left uncorrected by Lord Berners, and who made additional nonsense of their own.

His Hell of Proper Names

But apart from his neglect of the proper names, this translator shows a want of conscience in his attention to the meaning. Such mistakes as have been quoted from his *Golden Boke* are found in his *Froissart* also. 'Thus Jaques Dartvell endedde his dayes who had ben a great maister in Flanders; poore man first mounteth up, and unhappy man sleeth them at the ende' (chapter cxv.): this stands for 'povres gens l'amontèrent premièrement et meschans gens le tuèrent en le par fin'; that is, 'poor men uplifted

Elusions and Illusions

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him at the first, and wicked men slew him in the end.' 'Par eschielles de cordes et gravés d'acier'—'rope-ladders and steel grapplings'—is translated 'with helpe of the archers.' *Achier*, the spelling in the text which he was using, was enough to set him on this bold but unnecessary and misleading version, which rather confuses a spirited account of an escalade, though it is picked up and well continued after this:—'And first there entred, raumpynge uppe lyke a catte, Bernarde de la Salle, who in his tyme hadde scaled dyvers forteresses,' and so on.

IV

The Popular Theory of Froissart

It is difficult to exaggerate the merits of Froissart as a narrator, taking a reasonable view of his circumstances and intentions. But it is possible to praise him wrongly. It is well understood now that much of the fame of the *Chronicles* is due to Jean le Bel, the real author of the greater part of the First Book; and apart from those large debts that can be verified by a comparison of Froissart with the recovered history of Jean le Bel, there is much in the common estimate of Froissart that is really due to the Middle Ages in general, and the traditional spirit of story-telling of which Froissart had his share. His forms of composition are inherited, and other writers have described before him all the pageant of which he is the accomplished master: the movements of armies, the shock of battle, the valour of this knight and that knight, and how they severally bore themselves in the press, and so forth.

His Gift of Narrative a Tradition and an Inheritance

So far from being singular in his command of stories, Froissart appears as one of a numberless multitude of historians, who have all of them Froissart's interest in events, and in various degrees the power of setting them out in a narrative. Instead of admiring Froissart, one is often inclined to wonder at the commonness of this gift of story-telling; and when Froissart is praised for his sieges, adven-

tures, ambushes, and all the rest of it, there crowd into the court where he is getting his reward, who shall say how many captains, voyagers, chaplains, and common soldiers with journals and memoirs that might stand along with Froissart's Cressy, if spirited actions, described as they took place, be what is wanted in a chronicler? Of all the things in literature for which grace is to be said, there is none that is at once so plentiful in quantity and so inexhaustible in attraction as this kind of writing. It flourishes in any season and any climate. The Epic may wither and the Tragedy fail, but there is seldom want of the good bread of Chronicles, Journals, Memoirs, Narratives, whatever they may be called, and there is as little weariness in them as in any things composed by men. The shortness of life may perhaps have its advantages, as various philosophers have explained; but it leaves a regret that there is hardly time in any ordinary life for all the Memoirs of France. And there are other languages, even the despised mediæval Latin, as Carlyle discovered in his Jocelyn of Brakelonde. The writing in Jocelyn's *Chronicle* is not so good as Froissart's; but if mere lively sketching of an incident be what is wanted, why should not Jocelyn claim his own? Those who wish to see past things as they were, will think as fondly of the streets of St. Edmund's Bury, and the old wives protesting against taxes with their distaffs, as of the Court of Gaston de Foix in Froissart's *Chronicles*. At least they will not care to stop and choose between one and the other. Jocelyn of Brakelonde lets them have a picture of something happening, and again, as Carlyle has sufficiently brought out, he can give the impression of a person's character and how it strikes a contemporary; and what can Froissart or Horace Walpole give more? Many things, no doubt; but not things of the same essential, satisfying flavour as the pictures of events, in which the monk of St. Edmund's, and many a ship-captain in Hakluyt, might compete with Froissart!

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The Gift of Narrative and the Neglect of it common to all Races in all Ages

The gift of narrative, like the gift of courage, is always and everywhere something near a miracle; but these miraculous qualities are pretty widely distributed among the human race. Perhaps the tendencies of education and culture have been rather to conceal the merits of the chroniclers by directing attention to moralists and philosophers instead; also the beaten ground of Livy, and the school historians writing mechanical sentences with the ablative absolute, are known to have produced an unfortunate aversion from history which has probably checked explorers. Dr. Johnson, who was sick of the Second Punic War, would surely have found the mediæval chroniclers as well worth reading as the romances in Dr. Percy's library. He was not a friend of Gray, or he might have been guided differently; but, as it was, Gray had few companions in his taste for the historians of chivalry. The love or the respect for great authors has naturally left out of notice the simple authors who make a record of events in any grammar that comes handy. The absorption of the schools in science and abstract philosophy, and the pretensions of the moral essayists (with half a dozen historical examples in their stock to enliven their account of human nature), prevented a right appreciation of old chronicles. Hence, the brilliancy of Froissart, who happens to be generally known or at any rate famous, has perhaps been too emphatically acknowledged: with too much isolation of Froissart from the other French historians, and also with not enough recognition of the common and widespread faculty of good story-telling.

To the Disadvantage of many Notable Masters

Froissart has been praised for what belongs to Villehardouin, and for qualities that he shares with any one who has been in lively places and can give an account of them, or who can repeat with spirit the stories of adventure, or even of mere commonplace occurrences, that he has heard from others. It would be easy to find in any age of literature any number of brilliant passages of narrative and description in writers

who have no pretence to fame as historians. Perhaps one must except the great classical ages of Greece and Rome; for the ancients, or the Fates on their behalf, seem to have cleared away the less successful writers to let Homer and Herodotus live at ease in their room. But the Gothic Ages have been less thorough in their pruning; and from the days of St. Jerome to the last soldier's letter about this year's war there is an endless supply of the kind of history that stirs the reader of Froissart. It is very commonly disregarded by most of the human race, and perhaps most of all by the best educated, but it has its reward. When a chronicler of this kind is read for the first time, he has the same effect as Baruch had on La Fontaine. The discoverer goes about asking his friends:—'Have you read Jocelyn of Brakelonde?' Because Jocelyn has worked a miracle for him, in showing him visions of the past and things as they actually happened! The praise of Froissart, the stock comparison to Herodotus, might have provoked opposition before this from the friends of the less famous writers. Have you read Giraldus Cambrensis? or Galfridus Malaterra? or Dino Compagni? Have you read Pitscottie? Do you know the real character of King Stephen, as shown when he sat playing at 'chevaliers' with the boy William, that was afterwards Marshal and Earl of Pembroke? Do you know the youth of Mark Alexander Boyd, 'playing the loon on the Sabbath Day,' and waiting at night in the Glasgow street to have the life of the Professor whose discipline was not agreeable? The Professor, Mr. James Melville, has given his account of this part of the Renaissance in his *Diary*, and of other things as lively. Is his impression of what happened, and his record of it, less vivid than Froissart's? Has Froissart anything truer, anything more courteous, more absolutely sufficient in every way, than Melville's interview with Don Juan Gomez? Froissart in such things is equalled by his two chief predecessors in

Some Excellent Examples

Mr. James Melville

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French history, to name no more. He does not come nearer to the very truth of the thing than Villehardouin.

Villehardouin

The approach to Constantinople and the thrill of apprehension and resolution mingling at the sight of the place they had come to take, the chief city of the world, the solemnity of this, the sudden revelation of the place, and the immediate shock of surprise, all the difference between what you have thought about and what you see before you, Villehardouin has put into one magnificent sentence :—

'Quant il virent ces haus murs et ces riches tours dont ele estoit close et ces riches palais et ces hautes yglises dont il avoit tant que nus nel péust croire s'il ne le véist proprement à l'ueil, et il virent le lonc et le lé de la vile qui de toutes autres estoit souveraine, sachiés qu'il n'i ot si hardi à qui le char ne fremesist: et ce ne fu mie merveille s'il s'en esmaierent, quar onques si grans afaires ne fu empris de nulle gent puis que li mons fu estorés.'

And as much in his own different way has been done by Joinville. Among the shadows and the bodiless voices of the House of Fame, the knights of Mansourah, as Join-

Joinville

ville saw and remembered them, are still possessed of their human life and their own proper character. There is Count Peter of Brittany, hustled from the field by his men, and showing how little he thought of them as he spat the blood from his mouth and cursed them; holding on to the saddle-bow to keep the rout from unseating him :—'Bien sembloit que il les prisast pou.' And among all the many good things that have been said on the battle-field, from the days of Sarpedon downward, we may doubt whether anything is better than the speech of the good Count of Soissons :—'Li 'bons cuens de Soissons, en ce point là où nous estiens, se 'moquoit à moy et me disoit : Seneschaus, laissons huer ceste 'chiennaille; que par la Quoife Dieu ! (ainsi comme il juroit) 'encore en parlerons nous entre vous et moi de ceste journée 'ès chambres de dames.'

Froissart also has gained credit for a simplicity and

directness of style which is really common to his age, to all the Middle Ages, more or less. This is very pleasantly brought out by one of his French editors, who chanced to be drawn to Froissart not in the ordinary way. M. Buchon did not take up Froissart at first because of Froissart's reputation as a mediæval historian: he had read other historians first, in Portuguese; it was from admiration of Fernan Lopes, he says, that he turned to look for something corresponding in his own language, and so came upon Froissart. But with most readers the case is different. They have not read Fernan Lopes, perhaps no mediæval prose at all, and they are apt to take as the peculiar beauty of Froissart that charm of simple phrases which belongs even to the weakest mediæval writings in the vulgar tongue, to the *Petit Artus*, to the *Reali di Francia*, and not exclusively to the great books like the *Quest of the Holy Grail.*

INTRODUCTION

A Mediæval Virtue

Fernan Lopes

There is as wide an interval between the masters and the botchers in the Thirteenth or the Fourteenth Century as at any other time, and Froissart is as far removed from the incompetent mediæval proser as Gibbon is from Russell's *Modern Europe.* But there is this difference: that, while the useless prose of later times is neither fit for the land nor yet for the dunghill, there is generally something even in the feeblest of mediæval writings which has not wholly lost its savour, something that attracts even a man of the Eighteenth Century, as Dr. Johnson was taken captive by *Palmerin of England.* It does not belong to the great books only, to Froissart or Malory; but even the commonest hackwork of chivalry has a power of attraction in some of its phrases. All the weariness, all the respectability of well-educated books are unavailing with a certain class of readers if they only hear such opening words as 'Or dist li contes,' and 'Now torne we fro this mater and speke we of Sir Tristrem.' Phrases like these kill the phrasing of modern historians—*e.g.* 'the arts as well as arms of his subtle enemy,' or 'foiled in his design,

The Mediæval Charm

INTRO-DUCTION

the weak but unscrupulous monarch,' etc. If you test this sort of good grammar along with common phrases such as may be found easily enough at any opening of the books of chivalry—'Now shewethe the story that anone, after that Huon was enteryd into the chapell'—it is certain that some readers will consider this last the more admirable. What is beyond question is, that the dulness of the Middle Ages is redeemed by that grace of simplicity, and by the command of phrases that, even in the poorest context, yet bear witness to their gentle ancestry. Mediæval prose calls up the thought, at any rate, of something different from the grammar-school; and the grammar-school, with Holofernes for its teacher, is what is suggested by most of the polite literature that has been composed since the Renaissance, once its day is over.

Inherent Pathos

Of all the languages French had gone furthest in tuning the common mediæval prose to effects of pathos, making the most of the contrast between deep meaning and innocent-looking words. No language written by grown men ever comes near the old French in giving a tone to narrative like the awe-stricken voice of a child. The old French writers must appeal to you for pity and wonder, must call out 'how great the loss,' and add in the next breath, 'but there was no help for it, so they had to let it be' ('mais amender ne le porent'). In old French literature the individual strength or levity of a writer's character seldom does much to modify this hereditary trait of style; the most worldly and the strongest minded talk in this way; there is little irony known, and tears come quickly to the eyes over the common fortunes of the race. Jean le Bel and Froissart are gentle-hearted men, in different degrees, and both of them were poets and lovers of romance. They use this sort of language, and they use the formulas of romance to bring a thing vividly before the mind:—'He that had seen this, had been filled with wonder.' 'Qui donc veist hommes, les femmes et 'enfans de chiaus plorer et tordre leurs mains et criier à

'haulte vois très amèrement, il n'est si durs coers ou monde 'qui n'en euist pité';—'there was nat so hard a hert if they 'had sene them but that wolde have had great pytie of 'them':—so the sorrow of Calais is represented by Lord Berners, cap. cxlvi., but he does not convey the full association of the original phrase with the formulas of the heroic poetry. 'Là véisiés fier estor esbaudir';—'there might you see fierce stour of battle raging, lances shivered, shields broken, the coats of mail torn through and rent.' It was in such phrases of the *chansons de geste* that the earliest French historians learned their ways of appealing to an audience. And it is the epic manner again that has determined the fashion of a sentence like this in the beginning of one of the chapters on Cressy:—'Ceste bataille, ce samedi, entre la Broie et Creci, fu moult felenesse et très horrible.' It is used again for Najera in 1367:—'Che samedi au matin entre Nazres et Navaret'; and it recalls the magnificent opening of the old heroic poem in the cycle of William of Orange:—

The Epic Touch

A icel jor que la dolor fu grans
Et la bataille orible en Aliscans.

It has the epic way of making the time and the place seem notable, as if they partook in the action. Such is the habit of the old French writers of history.

V

The most probable date of Froissart's birth is 1338; his life[1] is nearly contemporary with Chaucer's. Between the fortunes of the two writers there are many close resemblances: Froissart appears to have been, like Chaucer, sprung from a prosperous townsman's family, and, like Chaucer, he found it not difficult to get access to courts and noble houses. He had not Chaucer's imagination, nor his full sympathy

Froissart and Chaucer

[1] The *Life* of Froissart, by Mme. Darmesteter, in the series of 'Great Writers of France,' has made it easy to follow his career, and not so easy to say anything fresh about it.

INTRODUCTION

with different conditions of men, but his birth and his good temper saved him from the exclusive preference of courtly and chivalrous affairs that has sometimes been attributed to him. A man of Hainault, a townsman of Valenciennes, had no right to look down upon respectable burgesses. In the notes on his own life in his poems he makes no pretence of great dignity for himself: he takes something like the humorous view of his own modest rank that Chaucer presents in the *House of Fame* and in the interludes before and after *Sir Thopas*. Froissart coming back from Scotland, with his one horse Grisel carrying him and his saddlebag, is a traveller of less magnificence than Jean le Bel, and there is no affectation of courtliness in the confessions of the *Dit du florin*, how his money went in the taverns of Lestines. There was not the sharp division between knights and burgesses that is sometimes supposed—for example, in Claverhouse's description of him to Henry Morton. Eustache de St. Pierre, of the town of Calais, is one of the heroes of Jean le Bel and of Froissart, and Froissart notes the death of a 'valiant burgess of Abbeville' in a 'brunt' of battle in 1369: 'the which was great damage': just as if he had been a knight.

Early Years and Work

He has given an account of his schooldays and his early love affairs in the poem of *l'Espinette amoureuse*. This is his *Vita Nuova*; but while Dante's story is made as solemn as the prophetic books that he quotes in it, and filled with the quintessence of the old idealist worship, Froissart's poem varies easily between the formulas of the allegorical tradition and a literal account of the way he spent his youth in Valenciennes, from the time when his amusements were like those of Gray at Eton or Cowper at Westminster to the incidents of his unsuccessful courtship. The Fourteenth Century was quite capable of such personal notes and such urbane confessions as are common in less 'Gothic' periods. Froissart was a memoir-writer as well as an author of songs

and virelays. His 'mémoire ymaginative,' as he calls it in the *Trésor amoureux*, was employed on his own small adventures at school, before he turned to the chronicles of the 'prowess' of Christendom. INTRODUCTION

The record of his life contains little besides his travels and his literary works, the travels being generally for the sake of his history. He went to England in 1361 to present a book of his to Queen Philippa, and spent about five years at the English court. In 1365 the queen sent him with good credentials to Scotland. He stayed fifteen days at Dalkeith, in the house of the Earl Douglas, and saw there his son, the Douglas who fell at Otterbourn: 'a fair young child, and a sister of his called the lady Blanche.' In his account of Otterbourn, Froissart mentions that in his youth he had ridden 'nigh over all the realme of Scotland'; King David took him with him on a progress through the country, and he 'searched all the realm to the wild Scots.' In his travels he noted not only such things as were told him about Robert the Bruce and about the manners of the Scots (to verify Jean le Bel's descriptions), but also, more fancifully, the names that he used in composing the scenery of his tale of *Meliador*, such as Snowdon, which is the name of Stirling in romance. On his return, which is the subject of one of the pleasantest of his shorter poems, he seems to have spent some time with the young Lord Despencer, whose father-in-law, Bartholomew Burghersh, comes often into his story. Passages of conversation with Despencer are among the additions made by Froissart to his last redaction of the First Book. They have not the same extent as his report of the talk on the way to Bearn in 1388, but they are significant: Despencer pointing out the towns that his family had lost through 'the ill queen.' Froissart was at Berkeley Castle along with him in 1366, and heard the story of it from an old squire: he asked questions, he says, to 'justify' his history. Then he went to Brussels, where he was befriended

Travels

England

Scotland

Berkeley

Brussels

INTRODUCTION

by Wenceslas of Brabant for the sake of Queen Philippa, and then to the Black Prince at Bordeaux. He was at Bordeaux on Twelfth Night 1367, when Richard, son of the Black Prince, was born; and, being known as a chronicler, was bidden to write down the fact for his book. After a short visit to England again, he went out along with Despencer to accompany Lionel of Clarence to his wedding at Milan. The journey had a bad ending in the death of the bridegroom not long after the marriage. Froissart went on to Rome, about which he has nothing to say. He seems to have preferred Stirling, in his 'Gothic' taste. Queen Philippa died in 1369, and Froissart came back to his own country of Hainault, where he must have worked hard at his *Chronicles*, with such diversions as are indicated in the *Dit du florin*, a poem written twenty years later. In an earlier poem, *le Joli buisson de Jonece*, which dates itself the 30th of November 1373, he gives a pleasant account of his own fortunes and of those who have befriended him; Queen Philippa, the Duchess Blanche of Lancaster, for whose early death he makes his lament, Isabel, Lady of Coucy, her father King Edward, her husband (Sir Enguerrand), and many others; the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, the Duke Aubert, the three Lords of Blois, Lewis, John, and Guy, especially Guy; the Count Amadeus of Savoy; last of all, his Scottish friends, whom he ought to have mentioned before—the King, and the Earls of Douglas, Mar, March, Sutherland, and Fife:—

Bordeaux

Milan

Rome

Hainault

His Friends

'Haro! que fai! je me bescoce
J'ai oublié le roy d'Escoce
Et le bon Conte de Duglas
Avec qui j'ai mené grant glas:
Bel me reçurent en leur marce
Cils de Mare et cils de la Marce
Cils de Surlant et cils de Fi.'[1]

[1] *Buisson de Jonece* l. 363 *sq.* (Scheler, *Poésies de Froissart*, t. ii. p. 11).

He does not here mention Robert of Namur, for whom the First Book was composed. INTRODUCTION

Froissart set out on his adventures when he left Hainault for England in 1361, to offer to Queen Philippa his first essay in history:—'Howbeit I took on me, as soon as I 'came from school, to *write and recite* the said book, and 'bare the same compiled into England, and presented the 'volume thereof to my lady Philippa of Hainault, noble 'queen of England, who right amiably received it to my 'great profit and advancement.' Berners does not quite rightly give the original meaning:—'Ce non obstant si em- 'prins je assez hardiement, moy yssu de l'escolle, *à dittier* 'et *à rimer* les guerres dessus dites.' The book presented to the Queen of England was not any part of the present *Chronicle*, but a rhyming history, such as are found in plenty, though this one of Froissart's is lost.[1] It was doubtless in the ordinary verse of romance, such as was used in the *Life* of William the Marshal long before this, and in Chandos Herald's *Life* of the Black Prince later; and in a book that claims remembrance in connection with Froissart and Jean le Bel, by John Barbour, the historian of the Bruce. Froissart had from the first the right historical sense that made him go about asking questions and taking notes, but he was not at first, apparently, drawn to the methods of Villehardouin and Joinville. He preferred the old mode of utterance, in rhyme: as in the days when

Prologue, see below, p. 18

Froissart as Historian

In Rhyme

[1] Something has been saved: thirty-six octosyllabic verses on the events of 1357, apparently from Froissart's poem, have been found in two parchment slips used for binding, and published by M. L. Delisle in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LX. pp. 611-616. M. Longnon, in calling attention to this at the end of the third volume of his *Meliador* (p. 368), observes that it is most probably this early historical poem of Froissart's which is mentioned in the library catalogue of King Charles V.:—*La guerre du roy de France et du roy d'Angleterre, et les faiz du roy de Navarre et de ceulz de Paris quant ilz furent contre le roy . . . escript en françoys de lettre formée, et rymé, a deux colombes.*

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prose was not thought fit for a gentleman to read, or rather to have read to him. Prose was enjoined upon him when he made up his mind to continue Jean le Bel, and to sacrifice his first attempt, or at any rate to disregard it.

In Prose

What happened to his plans is clearly enough explained in his Prologue, though it is not clearly brought out by Berners. He had, of his own motion and through his natural interest in the subject, gathered material for a history of the wars of England and France, chiefly about the battle of Poitiers and what followed, for the earlier history was rather too far back for his own memory to serve him well. This history he compiled into metre and presented to the queen. Then, as he went on with his researches, he found that it would not stand, and that he had not rightly made out the actors in the story and their

The *Chronicles*

proper exploits. He had the motive of heroic literature strongly at work in his mind—namely, the desire to honour the great deeds of champions in war; and he found that somehow or other his rhyming chronicle had gone wrong or come short in its attribution of glory to the different knights. So he fell back on the *Chronicles* of Jean le Bel of Liége, made these the foundation and the first part of his work, and continued them, starting in his new undertaking from about the time when he may have begun to suspect and criticise the book presented to the queen, which was about the time when Jean le Bel comes to an end:—

'Therefore to acquit me in that behalf and in following 'the truth as near as I can, I, John Froissart, have enter- 'prised this history on the foresaid ordinance and true 'foundation, at the instance and request of a dear lord of 'mine, Robert of Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort, to whom 'entirely I owe love and obeisance, and God grant me to 'do that thing that may be to his pleasure.'

Patrons and Opinions

The life of Froissart is determined by the favour of his patrons, and so are his opinions. This has been shown

most clearly by M. Siméon Luce in his investigation of Froissart's ways of working and the processes by which the different redactions of his First Book were brought about. The English sympathies of the First Version (which is the most popular in manuscripts, and which was taken as material for the early printed copies, and therefore was translated by Lord Berners), the English accounts of Cressy and Poitiers, are due to Froissart's attachment to the English party in his early life, to the favour of Queen Philippa, and the protection of Robert of Namur. Robert of Namur came back from journeys like those of Chaucer's Knight in Pruce and the Holy Land, and offered his services to King Edward at Calais in 1346; although he was not constant altogether in his support of the English, he was more for that side than for the French. Froissart dedicates to him the First Book of the *Chronicles*, written from the English point of view. But before 1373, when he became curate of Lestines, under the patronage of Gui de Blois, Froissart's opinions began to change. Queen Philippa had died in 1369; he had come to be more and more closely drawn to the court of Brabant, where Wenceslas of Bohemia, husband of the duchess, gave his countenance to Froissart, and made him the confidential friend to whom he gave his poems. Wenceslas, son of King John of Bohemia who fell at Cressy, naturally had other sympathies in connexion with the war than those which Froissart had represented; while Gui de Châtillon, Count of Blois, was nephew of that saintly Charles of Blois who had died at Auray (cap. ccxxvi.), maintaining his right in Brittany against the English supporters of the rival claim, and his father too had died at Cressy on the French side. For Gui de Blois the Second Redaction appears to have been made between 1376 and 1383: it is found in two manuscripts, the chief of which, at Amiens, is thought by M. Luce to have been copied from Froissart's own writing, and from writing done in haste and

Philippa of England

Robert of Namur

Gui de Châtillon

Duke Wenceslas of Brabant

INTRODUCTION

not very easy to read. Gui de Blois, a good knight, who was hostage in England when King John was set free from his captivity, who like Robert of Namur had made journeys in 'Pruce,' who fought against the English in Guienne, and commanded the French rearguard at Roosebecke in 1382, was the chief patron of Froissart in the rest of his life: the Third Book was written about 1390 for his good master and lord, Gui, Count of Blois, and in the Prologue of the Fourth Book Froissart describes himself as 'chaplain to his dear lord above named,' as well as treasurer and Canon of Chimay and of Lille in Flanders. Gui de Blois died in 1397, before the *Chronicles* came to an end, and before the last redaction of the First Book.

The Duke's Verses

Froissart probably drew away from Robert of Namur owing to a coolness between Robert of Namur and Wenceslas in 1371; down to the death of Wenceslas in 1383 Froissart was his friend and associate in poetical studies. His romance of *Meliador*, long lost but now recovered, and lately published, was written to introduce in it the lyrics of Wenceslas: poems for which Mr. R. L. Stevenson's review of Charles of Orleans has said by implication everything most to the purpose. Their music is the thinnest that human senses can apprehend, yet they are true and graceful in their own way, though there is no substance in them. Their author was gently born, and the piety of Froissart was well bestowed in honouring and preserving his poems.

The First Book was finished about the time when Froissart went to Lestines, about 1373; it was revised for Gui de Blois (the Second Redaction) between 1376 and 1383, and in

Blois

these years and later Froissart was occupied with his Second Book, great part of which is the chronicle of Flanders. After 1381, when Gui succeeded his brother John as Count of Blois, Froissart was made his chaplain and became Canon of Chimay. Between Blois and the Low Countries he saw some more of the world, and towards the end of 1388, in order

to get fresh material, he made the journey to Bearn that rightly takes up so much room in his memoirs and in every account of his life and character.

Froissart's Third Book begins[1] with the matters, from 1382 onward, that he learned at Orthez in 1388, concerning 'the business of the realms of Castile, Portugal, Navarre, 'and Aragon, yea, and of the realm of England and country 'of Bourbonnois and Gascoyne.' In telling about these things he gives not only the substance but the way in which the stories came to him in his journey southward, and also the conversations at the house of 'the high and mighty prince Gaston, Earl of Foix and Bearn.' He brought with him his romance of *Meliador*, containing the poems of Wenceslas of Brabant: 'the songs, ballads, rondels, and virelays which the gentle duke had made in his time': and read the book aloud for the night's entertainment. Apart from historical criticism, no comment on this part of Froissart's life can do much more than repeat his own story, and that is unnecessary here, when his own story is to follow in its proper place, as Lord Berners has translated it. There is no need for any chorus to the tragedy of the house of Gaston Phœbus—'the piteous death of Gaston, the earl's son'—and as little for the less solemn passages, where Froissart told the story of Acteon, as possibly helping to explain the strange disease of Sir Peter of Bearn, or where he listened to the squire's tale 'how a spirit called Horton served the lord of Corasse a 'long time, and brought him ever tidings from all parts of 'the world.' From this date his manner of writing history changes: there is more of his personal memoirs, a greater freedom of discourse and of digression. It was not that he acquired new powers, or that he learned the art of making his journal interesting; for his poems, it will be found, show much the same faculty of dealing with personal matters as

Orthez

Gaston de Foix

A Change of Method

[1] At the xxi. chapter of Berners' Second Volume (1525).

INTRODUCTION and Effect

the conversations of Orthez, and Froissart had of course from the first been a writer of reminiscences. But he certainly increased his freedom; and, when he went back in his old age to revise his First Book, he added many circumstances 'beneath the dignity of history,' and gave, for example, not only the results of his early inquiries in England, but in some cases the way in which his researches were carried out: for instance, in the talk with Despencer already quoted. And his later visit to England is recorded, not in the style of the First Book, but like the visit to Orthez: the conversations are fully reported, and the circumstances noted. Besides the information given by Sir Richard Stury at Eltham, it is told, in one of the memorable expressions of Froissart's quick sense for what was about him, that he and Sir Richard were walking up and down in the shade of a vine-trellis, while his old acquaintance of four-and-twenty years back explained to him the condition of England. Unfortunately this sentence did not come into Lord Berners' *Froissart*:—'Et toutes les parties qui sont icy 'dessus contenues, celluy vaillant chevallier anchien messire 'Richard Stury les me dict et racompta mot à mot en gam-'biant les galleries de l'ostel à Eltem où il faisoit moult bel 'et moult plaisant et umbru, car icelles galleries pour lors 'estoient toutes couvertes de vignes.'

Avignon

Froissart throve at Orthez: the generous life there and the favour shown to him and to his book, 'the *Meliador*,' gave him an exhilaration that does not seem to have passed away. He left Orthez in March 1389 in the train of the young Duchess of Berry. At Avignon (where he lost his purse) he wrote the *Dit du florin*, a poem about himself and his own fortunes, in which he shows the same kind of spirit as in his prose memoirs of the same date. On his way back to Hainault he met his old friend and patron, 'mon tres chier et grant seigneur,' he calls him, 'monseigneur Enguerran Seigneur de Coucy,' whose life and fate

(after Nicopolis) were so well in harmony with the legendary sorrows and the chivalrous reputation of the name he bore. From Enguerrand de Coucy he got news of English affairs. After a visit to Valenciennes and to Gui, 'the Earl of Blois,' he returned to Paris in time to see the entry of Queen Isabel on Sunday the 20th of June 1389; he gives a very full account of all the shows, pageants, and devices made in her honour. Later, at Bruges, he collected Portuguese intelligence from Don John Pacheco, and finished his Third Book, the whole of which must have been written at high pressure and with great zest and spirit. In 1390 the Fourth Book was begun, and dedicated, like the others, to Gui de Blois. But Gui de Blois was not quite able to keep all Froissart's old devotion. He died in 1397, ruined by extravagance and 'accidie,' having had to sell his estate of Blois; and the latter part of the *Chronicles* is somewhat overcast by the shadow of his decline. He is not mentioned among the patrons whom Froissart consulted before his visit to England in 1394. Froissart applied for aid and countenance to Albert of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and Lord of Friesland, to his son William of Ostrevant, to the Duchess of Brabant, and to the Lords of Coucy and of Gommegines. Gui de Blois is remembered at his death as an honourable lord who had been liberal in his help to Froissart and in his encouragement of the *Chronicles*, but before his death his wealth had shrunk, and the historian had to turn elsewhere for a patron. There was nothing exactly disloyal in this, and Albert of Bavaria was no new friend to Froissart; but all the same there is something rather sad in the passing of Gui de Châtillon and in Froissart's acceptance of the new conditions. Albert of Bavaria and his son were Knights of the Garter, and attached to England in their sympathies, and Froissart had begun to think again of a still older debt than that which he owed to Châtillon—his obligation to

INTRO-DUCTION

Paris

Bruges

The Fall of Gui de Blois

New Patrons

Albert of Bavaria

INTRODUCTION

Queen Philippa and her children. He returned to England in July 1394.

En los nidos de antaño—

Naturally in this visit there was the common disappointment: the old nests had other birds in them. At Canterbury Froissart stood by the tomb of the Prince of Wales; he had not seen Richard, King of England, since the day when the child was held at the font in the church of Bordeaux. His old acquaintances were mostly dead. But he found Sir Richard Stury, whom he had seen last in 1370 at the court of Wenceslas at Brussels, and he was well received by the king, who accepted graciously his richly bound and jewelled volume of poems:—'in a fair book, well enlumined, all the matters of amours and moralities that in four and twenty years before I had made and compiled.' There is no attempt in these chapters of Froissart to keep merely to public history. It is in this part of his memoirs that the passages occur to which Gray calls attention in his letter to Wharton (January 23, 1760):—'Pray, are you come to the four Irish 'Kings, that went to school to K. Richard the 2d.'s Master 'of the Ceremonies; and the man who informed Froissard 'of all he had seen in S. Patrick's Purgatory?' Froissart in England in these latter days heard the grumbling of the nation, from Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, down to the populace of London, against the misgovernment of the king; and he takes notice in his own way of the same things as were expressed in a different manner by his contemporary, the alliterative poet, in his complaint and admonition to Richard the Redeless. He left England late in 1395. Not much is known of the rest of his life. He appears to have lived mostly in his own country of Hainault, working at his books. His history ends tragically, with the ruinous defeat at Nicopolis, and with the death of King Richard. But this was not the last of his memoirs. After 1400, though he did not continue his history beyond the accession of Henry of Lancaster, he went back again to the First

Gray to Wharton

Hainault

Last Writings

Book, and began re-writing it in an original way, making his own that part of his *Chronicles* which had mainly been due to Jean le Bel. This revision—the Third Redaction, extant in the one manuscript of Rome—goes down to 1350, and is very different in style from both the other versions. The tone, which in many places had been flattened a little through the transference of Jean le Bel's original narrative to the copy of his work in Froissart, is now freshened again by means of digressions, remarks, and reminiscences of Froissart's own. The earlier history comes out in this last version more impressively through Froissart's indignation and distress at the fall of King Richard; the character of the English nation as he describes it in the manuscript of Rome is determined by what he had himself observed, not in 1365, but thirty years later. Nothing definite is known of Froissart after this, and the year of his death is uncertain. INTRODUCTION and Death

VI

The French poets of the Fourteenth Century, the masters and the contemporaries of Chaucer, have not received the same attention from literary historians that has been given to the earlier mediæval schools. No one has set himself to explain and characterise them as M. Gaston Paris and his pupils have described the triumphs of the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Centuries, the Arthurian Romances, *Reynard*, the *Fabliaux*, the early lyrical poetry of France, the *Romaunt of the Rose*. And they are still too mediæval—Guillaume de Machaut, Eustache Deschamps, and Froissart—for the professors of modern literature, who regard the Middle Ages as merely a preserve for philologists and antiquarians, and who find that one *chanson de geste* is the same as another, and none of them really worth much notice from an educated taste or a serious historian. Fortunately the texts of these poets have not been neglected, though their value has not been fully Froissart's Poetry

INTRODUCTION

estimated for the history of literature. One can form one's own opinion, with the scholarly Editions of the poetry of Froissart and of Eustache Deschamps, easily accessible as they are, and with Chaucer's earlier poetry to help one to an understanding of their motives. Nor should the essay of M. Sandras be omitted,[1] in which he tries to reduce Chaucer to the rank of a mere dependent on his French instructors, and does no harm to Chaucer thereby, while he illustrates Machaut and Deschamps, and gives a clue to some of the mazes of that Garden of the Rose in which the French poets were fond of walking.

The Spell of the Rose

All the poets of that school were servants of the Rose, believers in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, and their office might be regarded as a kind of lyrical variation or descant on the themes given out in the authoritative text of Guillaume de Lorris, from which, as from a perennial fountain, their jets of ballades and virelays are refreshed and supplied:—

> 'The God of Love, a! *benedicite*,
> How mighty and how great a lord is he!'

The Garden of Dreams

These poets, with Chaucer in his youth, are of the household of that lord, and find their way to his Garden in the dream of a May morning; and their poems have the dreamy charm of the place, so indescribable, yet so distinct even from the things that are most like it, such as the Provençal poems, or those of Petrarch, which are akin to the Rose indeed, but not in the same close degree as the makings of Machaut, Froissart, and Chaucer. This common bond of loyalty, however, does not explain everything in that fellowship of poets, and Froissart, like Chaucer, has more than one way. It has perhaps been too often and too hastily taken for granted that in the French school of the Fourteenth Century there was nothing more than the

[1] *Étude sur G. Chaucer, considéré comme imitateur des trouvères.* Paris, 1859.

lyrical repetition of the old conventional amatory motives in the form of ballades, rondels, and *chansons royales*, having great beauty of poetical form, in narrow limits, but without variety or novelty apart from the systems of the rhythms and the rhymes. If there had been nothing more, there would still have been Chaucer's *Complaint to Pity* and 'Hyd Absolon thy giltë tresses clere'; and also that most exquisite deliverance of Chaucer's finest poetical sense, the lament of Anelida. But there would not have been the dialogue in the *Parliament of Birds*; and even the *Book of the Duchess*, closely as it conforms in most respects to the tradition of the Rose, is not altogether a dream. It is not strange that Chaucer should very early have found the ways of the French tradition too strait for him. But the French authors also, though they had not the same poetical career before them, are free to go beyond the limits of the Rose; the poetry of Froissart and Deschamps, if there be nothing in it like the Canterbury Pilgrims, is at least as free as the *Parliament of Birds* or the *House of Fame*; and besides the beauty of their ballades and rondels (which any churlish classical person may disparage if he choose) there is an amount of humorous and satirical poetry that is hardly recognised by those who think the Middle Ages wanting in the modern qualities of wit and worldly elegance. The passages where Froissart tells things about his own life are as sound, as clear, as free from 'Gothic' encumbrance as even Swift's autobiographical verses. What is most of all to our purpose, they illustrate the *Chronicles*. The motive of Froissart in the *Chronicles* is not altogether purely the love of exploits and prowess or the desire to praise famous men. Happily, in many parts of his work, especially in the latter part of the *Chronicles*, as has been seen, the memoir-writer gets the better of politics and the art of war, and reveals the true extent of his theme, which is nothing less than human experience as understood and

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The Pageant of Life

INTRO-DUCTION

remembered by himself. Froissart declares himself at last in the chapters on his visit to Bearn, so very different from the history of the wars. In the first part of his work he does not talk about himself, and report conversations with the same fulness. He does not, unluckily, report the talk by the way during his visit to Scotland as he does the conversations with Sir Espaing de Lyon on their journey to Orthez. The earlier notes are given without their setting. Stirling and Dalkeith and the evening's entertainment there are not described in the same manner as the nights at Orthez in the house of the Count of Foix. The new method that he adopts for 1388, and had not used for 1365, is not to be ascribed merely to 'the tattling quality of age,' nor yet altogether to a maturing of his style, an enlargement of his scope, a growing freedom from the dignity of history. No doubt there was a development of this sort going on: he felt that there might be enough of battles, sieges, and ambuscades; why should he not indulge his genius? But his genius had found its way before this in the memoir notes that he put into various poems, and his poems show him as he really is more intimately than the more important historical pieces of his *Chronicles*: a man pleased with the recollection of anything that has happened to him, an average good-humoured Epicurean temperament quickened into something finer by his sense of a continuous excitement in the mere process of living, and with a gift of expression in which his memoirs shape themselves for narrative. The short poem on his horse Grisel and his greyhound coming back from Scotland is a specimen of Froissart's mind. It is like a poem for a child, telling how the horse and the dog exchanged remarks on life and on their master. 'See what hard work I have,' says the horse, 'with so much to carry, while you run free!' 'But consider,' says the greyhound, 'how well our master cares for you, how he goes to see that you are fed, how you are

Froissart the Chronicler illustrated and explained by Froissart the Poet.

'given a comfortable lodging and a bed of straw or fern, 'while I am tied up at the door or anywhere to keep 'watch'; and so on. In all which, besides the fluent verse, there is nothing remarkable, except that Froissart on his travels should have amused himself by thinking into rhyme the common trials of his companions—he was fond of animals—and the common charities of the road. There is no heightening nor idealising nor ornamentation of the subject; nothing much more than a pleasant appreciation of what is happening about him in an ordinary day's journey; without any epithet or any poetical diction he draws toward his inn. Froissart has set down in verse, using his horse and dog to speak for him, his record of the fact that his heart leaps up when he beholds the church spire at the end of the day's stage, and knows that it means an inn not very far off. This is outside the allegorical garden, and it reveals the same good-tempered and frank enjoyment of life that carried Froissart through so much. Life is generally so interesting to him that he has no time to be wearied. Though the mass of his writing is large, it never looks like task-work. *Tristitia* was one of the Seven Sins for which he had no inclination. Hence his writings move most easily; he is never preoccupied, and has always time to spare. The romance of *Meliador*—which, to be sure, is not a very substantial work, for all its length—would seem to have been turned out as a sort of amusement, a relaxation from the claims of history. In the same way that other good-natured man, Froissart's contemporary, Boccaccio—'John of the Tranquillities'—might lapse into Tuscan verse or prose as a relief from his serious labour at the Genealogy of the Gods or the history of the Falls of Princes. Chaucer was less mercurial than his French and Italian compeers, and shows more sign of study in his writings, and less levity. But Froissart, Chaucer, and Boccaccio deserve to be remembered together in honour of the century in which they lived

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The Master-quality of Froissart's mind

Froissart, Boccaccio, and Chaucer

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as the three great writers who have least of the writer's melancholy.

At the first glance there is a temptation to think of Froissart's poetry and his *Chronicles* as roughly corresponding to the difference between Chaucer's earlier and later poems: as though the *Chronicles* and all Froissart's historical researches implied the same kind of turning towards real life, the same kind of discontent with the shadows of the Rose, as may be found in Chaucer's literary progress, in the difference between the *Complaint to Pity* (for example) and the Canterbury *Prologue*. Froissart, we might imagine, like Chaucer, grew weary of the allegorical landscape and the visionary actors, of Beau-Semblant, Bel-Accueil, and Franc-Vouloir, even of the heroes and heroines, Paris and Helen, Tristram and Iseult, 'Polixena et Dame Equo,' and the other gentle ghosts of the *Lovers' Paradise*. But this anticipation is hardly borne out by the facts of Froissart's nature or the succession of his works. It is not exactly true of Chaucer that he ever gave up anything: the pageant of the *Legend of Good Women* is later than the strong life of his *Troilus and Creseyde*. Of Froissart it is even less to be affirmed that he intentionally withdrew from the artifice of the fashionable poetry because he was tired of it and wanted something more real to break his mind upon. His occupation (or his diversion) with the romance of *Meliador* shows that he kept up both interests at once. But besides this it has to be remembered that the courtly school itself allowed its poets to deal pretty freely with real life. The rules of their Paradise were not so strict as in the time of Tannhäuser: they could go in and out much as they chose. It is easy to distinguish the poems or the parts of their poems in which they keep to the full ritual of the old observance of the Rose, and again the poems where cheerfulness is seen breaking in, where the light is daylight, where the tone is that of urbane conversation, or at least as

Nature and Allegory

Life and the ritual of the Rose

near it as was possible for a Fourteenth Century author of moral essays in verse. In the scope of his poetry Froissart is not very different from Clément Marot. The wit and good humour of poems like the *Dit du florin* are the proper things for what was originally called Satire by its Roman inventors, and the old Horatian tag upon Lucilius, the Boswellian motto, is not out of place in connexion with the poetry of Froissart; for though much of it belongs to the schools of the mediæval amorists, its character as a whole is rather that of confessions, impressions, notes and criticisms of life:—

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Froissart and the Satirists

> Quo fit ut omnis
> Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
> Vita senis.

His poems got some share of his confidences, his prose memoirs had the rest, and the life of 'Sir John Froissart of the country of Hainault' is shown in them like a picture.

VII

The original author of most of this present First Volume is Jean le Bel, canon of St. Lambert of Liége, who, according to the chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse, of the same city and of the canon's household, 'placed great care and all good 'diligence in this matter, and continued it all his life as 'justly as he could, and much it cost him to collect and gain 'it.' Jean le Bel died about 1370, over eighty years old. Along with his brother Henry he took part in the expedition of Jean de Beaumont in 1327, which brought him to York, Northumberland, and Scotland, along with the army of King Edward. He appears in Berners (cap. xv.) as 'syr John de Libeaux,' among the Hesbegnons of Hesbaye.

Jean le Bel

Jean de Hemricourt, in the *Miroir des nobles de Hesbaye*, gives an account of Jean le Bel and his way of life that shows him to have possessed the virtue of magnificence, besides his faculty of writing sound history. He was one

His Way of Life

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of the most splendid persons of his time, 'of frank and noble conditions and richly dressed,' 'grand et hauz et personables de riches habits et stoffes,' with ermine, sendal, and precious stones; 'the fashion of his house was this, and

Hospitality

'he had in this way instructed his squires of honour that 'without consulting their master if they saw any gentle 'stranger, whether prelate or knight or squire, they invited 'him forthwith to dinner or supper, and any prince who 'visited Liége was brought to dine with Jean le Bel. When

Magnificence

'he went to church on holidays there was as large a follow-'ing as for the Bishop of Liége, forty or fifty in his train, 'who all came to dinner with him afterwards; he was looked 'up to as their head by his kinsfolk and friends, and took

Character and Manners

'care of their advancement. He had good natural sense 'and good demeanour more than most men, he was blithe 'and gay and glad, and could make songs and virelays, and 'followed mirth and pastime; and in this course of life he 'obtained both heritages and pensions. By the grace of 'God he lived all his days in prosperity and good health, 'and was more than eighty years old when he died, and 'according to his rank were his obsequies reverently and 'costly carried out. He left great possessions to two sons, 'twins, named John and Giles, who were born to him when 'he was old of a damsel of good family belonging to the 'house of Des Prez.' The description of Jean le Bel's mag-

Talent and accomplishment

nificence might make one a little anxious about his talent for literature—it is consistent with florid tastes; but of these there is no sign in his *Chronicles*, and his narrative has less affinity with the ermine and sendal and the rich display of his household than with the habits of warfare which he learned in following his lord Jean de Beaumont. His client, Jean de Hemricourt, has said not a word too much in praising the liberal mind of his master: Jean le Bel had a clear head and a frank bearing, and his *Chronicles* are not affected

Scholar

by any touch of vainglory. He had imagination, among

other things, and was a lover of heroic poetry; though it is not so pronounced as in some of the earlier French historical prose, there is in Jean le Bel the tone of the epic language, the phrasing of the *chansons de geste*; it has been noted also in Froissart. In Jean le Bel's expedition in England with John of Hainault the places that belonged to King Arthur gain his attention, and he is pleased when he writes the name of 'Carduel in Wales which was in the Observer
days of Arthur,' or 'a white abbey which in the days of King Arthur was called the *Blanche Lande*,' and again, 'the castle of Windsor that King Arthur built, and where the Table Round was first established.' He remembers the famous sieges made by Charlemagne, Alexander, and Godfrey; and compares the valour shown at Nevill's Cross to that of Roland and Oliver. He has the same motive as Froissart in bringing out the prowess of good knights and in recording the *grans apertises d'armes*. At the same time Thinker
his judgment is unclouded by any of the magic mists of romance; the vigour of his story is not sophisticated, and indeed his story was begun in a sort of protest against the marvellous exaggerations of common minstrels, the 'jongliours et enchantours en place,' as Froissart calls them in his reference to Jean le Bel's antipathy for their fables. He writes for 'persons of reason and understanding,' *gens de* His public
raison et d'entendement, in order to displace the *bourdes controuvées*, 'the multitude of words invented and repeated to 'embellish the rhyme, and the crowd of wonderful achieve-'ments told of certain knights and other persons,' all out of measure, and more likely to discredit the subjects of them by their impossibility than in any way to do them honour. This pursuit of a true method is justified by the talents of Method
Jean le Bel; his praise of 'soothfastness' is by no means a conventional opening or a hackneyed depreciation of rival authors. Nor does it mean anything prosaic or dull: such things are far removed from the generous heart whose ways

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Achievement

were described by Jean de Hemricourt. He is the author of some of the best known and most highly honoured things in Froissart: the chapters on the surrender of Calais and the devotion of Eustache de St. Pierre, and on the death of the Bruce. He wrote the often-quoted account of the Scots and their warfare, from his own observation; and Froissart, though he studied the same subject on the same ground, did not cancel the report of Jean le Bel in favour of any newer notes of his own. One chapter he struck out, because he would not believe it true; but true or not, it remains as one of the finest things in old French prose—the tragic story of the Countess of Salisbury, the dishonour of King Edward, and the sentence spoken on him by the wronged earl, more lofty, more magnanimous, and more impressive in its power of condemnation than the revenge taken upon Tarquin. Jean le Bel, who can use with good effect the ordinary easy conversational language of mediæval French chroniclers, can also rise to the height of a tragic argument in phrases of as much severity and dignity as any Roman author would have found appropriate for such a theme.

As edited by Froissart

Froissart has left out other things also which are worth reading in the original Chronicle. Jean le Bel has a character of his own; and though Froissart's editing is most judicious for his own purposes, it is not quite the same thing as Jean le Bel speaking in his own person. Jean le Bel was at York in 1327 and Froissart was not; so naturally there is a difference in the two versions. Froissart keeps everything that he can, but he cannot keep the directness and immediate force of the older historian's remarks on what he actually saw:—'Incontinent after dinner there began a great fray 'between some of the grooms and pages of the strangers and 'the archers of England who were lodged among them in the

As he was

'said suburbs.' Froissart gives all this, but he cannot speak of it as Jean le Bel goes on to do:—'And I myself, who was 'there present, could not enter my lodging to arm me,

'myself and my companions, so many English did I find 'about our doors in a mind to wreck and plunder at large; 'and we saw the arrows flying so thick upon us that it 'behoved us to withdraw to another place and wait the 'event along with the others.' And 'we fell into the hatred 'of all the country except the great lords; the people hated 'us worse than the Scots who were burning their country.'

Things seen and Things heard

The narrator who can say 'we' has an advantage over one who says 'they'; and Jean le Bel, who saw the smoke of the Scottish fires with his own eyes, is worth listening to apart from Froissart. The smoke of an invading enemy seems to have dwelt in his imagination, for he brings it in vividly in his account of 1346, and Froissart here has not kept the touch that emphasises the weakness of the French king:—'How was it that King Philip who was at Paris a 'bare seven leagues away, with all his power of lords and 'men at arms that he had summoned for defence of the 'country, how was it that he did not fall upon those 'enemies who were making their smoke and flames fly over 'his head in Paris, or why did he not at least defend the 'passage of the river?'

Jean le Bel's criticism of the two kings is also left out by Froissart, but it is a fine piece of historical censure. Room may be found for it here, not only as an historical note on the matters contained in this First Volume, but even more in order to show the independent value of Jean le Bel's historical judgment and his gift of plain speaking:—

England and France compared

'Some who shall hear this history read will wonder why I call the King of England "the noble King Edward," but the other simply "King Philip of France"; so they might think and imagine that I maintained a side and a party. With due respect, I do not write thus out of party leanings, but I do it to honour him who in this history bears himself most nobly: that is the noble King Edward, for whom no honour is too great; for in all his needs he has always taken good counsel, and listened to his

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people, knights and squires, and honoured each in his degree, and well defended his realm against his enemies, and made large conquests upon them, and ventured his own body at home and forth of his realm along with his men unwavering, and has well paid his soldiers and allies, and freely given of his own: therefore he ought to be willingly served by all and everywhere have the name of noble king. Not thus has the King of France acted, but has let his land in many marches be exiled and wasted, and has in all places kept himself so as to ease his person and keep from danger; and has always trusted poor counsel of clerks and prelates, and even of those who said to him, "Sir, be not dismayed and run no risk of your life, for hardly will you guard against treason; who can tell that any man is loyal? But let this young King of England waste his time in folly and spend his substance; his smoke will not take the kingdom from you, and when he has spent all he must go back; he has not yet conquered Boulogne, Amiens or Saint Omer; when he is gone you may easily make good your losses." Such counsellors King Philip followed, not the lords and barons of his country; but some he put to shameful death, and their heirs disherited. The less should be his praise and honour among all men. Withal, he sore oppressed his country under taxes, and the churches with tithes, and forged bad money in different places, and again called it in and uttered better, and again debased it, so that in trade there was no certainty. And the soldiers were never well paid, but often had to spend of their own, in fault of payment, and also had often to sell their horse and armour before they found the pay-masters. A prince who thus behaves himself ought to have the less love from his men; and it is great pity and loss when by ill counsel the realm of France that had surmounted all the world in honour, wit, learning, chivalry, merchandise and all good things is thus tormented and to this mischief brought by its enemies and itself, that he who ought to be lord of it is captive, and nearly all the lords and knights of the land are dead or in prison. Verily I believe it is by miracle that God suffers it so to be. And now I will leave off, I can say no more

than this, and will return to our matter to speak of the noble King Edward, whom all should love, praise, and honour, for well he has deserved it; God be praised.' INTRODUCTION

The recovery and publication of Jean le Bel's authentic work[1] is a gain not so much of new material for French history as of an author with a mind and style of his own, who now has his proper place among the masters of the French tongue. He has not the variety nor the wide range of Froissart. But he writes like a man of honour and a man of good sense, acquainted with great affairs and able to find the right words for them. *Les Vrayes chroniques*

Incidentally, and apart from the matter of his book, Jean le Bel will always be interesting through the contrast between the quiet tone of his narrative and the apparent pomp and glory of his manner of living. It must perplex a moralist to find this very unaffected story coming from a man of such splendid ways as those described by the clerk of Hesbaye; while it might also puzzle an economist to explain how the revenue of Jean le Bel was increased under those conditions, which look so much like mere ostentation and prodigality. Such resolution and independence are not easily found in so rich a house. The contrast is like that in the case of Chaucer's Monk, from whom, as he is described in the *Prologue*, one would not expect the 'Tragedies' that he afterwards recites, nor the gravity of his mood and disposition. Jean le Bel in Life and Jean le Bel in Art

VIII

Froissart's *Chronicles* have been found wanting in many respects, and their credit has been damaged in several places by exact historical criticism; but these blemishes, even from the scientific point of view, are small in comparison to his Froissart explained and justified

[1] *Les Vrayes chroniques de Messire Jehan le Bel.* Edited in two volumes by M. Polain, Brussels, 1863.

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merits and the great amount of news of all sorts that he has collected and exhibited. Was it possible for him to have done more than he did by way of 'justifying' his history? The wonder is that he could have done so much, when we consider what a great mass of writing is published as his work, in prose and verse. And not all of his work is extant. There was hardly time for him to do more. Between his researches, his taking of notes, his composition of new chapters for his *Chronicles* and his revision of old work, besides his songs and virelays, his moral poems, and the leisurely romance of *Meliador*, he can seldom have been idle. He was not negligent, though he may have made mistakes; and it is hard to see how he could have spent his time better than he did, if he was to accomplish the enormous labour he had set himself to get through.

Faux-Semblant or Bel-Accueil?

Was he the historian of a declining age, of false chivalry? He has been so represented, but it is not easy to accept this opinion about him. He is spoken of sometimes as if his *Chronicles* were a romance of chivalry, without substance or gravity, as if all the life in it were a pageant or a tournament. But is this really so?

The Literature of Fourteenth-Century France.

Froissart has the French character of the Fourteenth Century. He notes, by the way, that the English think every one French who uses the Gallic tongue; but although he would not call himself French, there is no injustice in giving him the common qualities of the French courtly authors in the time in which he lived. French literature in the Fourteenth Century had undoubtedly not a little vanity in it. The court poetry of Froissart and his contemporaries, including Chaucer, was living on ideas and imaginations that had begun to lose their youth and freshness even before the days of Guillaume de Lorris, a hundred years and more before Froissart was born. The motives of the old French heroic romances were exhausted, and *Meliador* is the dream of a

Poetry and Romance.

shadow; the old lyric motives of Provence and of the Provençal schools in other languages had been repeated for generations before the poets of ballades and rondels adopted new metrical forms without changing the spirit or the common ideas of the old tradition. *Meliador*, both in Froissart's narrative couplets and in the rondels and virelays of Duke Wenceslas, is all reminiscence and repetition of conventional common forms, and *Meliador* is a representative book: if one wish to know what chivalrous poetry had come to in 1380, it is to be found there. It has graces indeed, but there is no strength in it. The strength of poetry is elsewhere at that time: in the Italian study of classical literature and in Chaucer's following of the Italians.

But this does not dispose of Froissart's *Chronicles*, and even Froissart's poetry, it has been seen, is not all convention and repetition. It is true that in many respects his age was one of literary exhaustion, and it is true also that Froissart remained all his life insensible to the chief new sources of literary strength that were accessible in his time: he had no interest in what was being done in Italy, and in spirit he came no nearer to his contemporary Petrarch than if they had been living in separate worlds or with a thousand years between them. Italy made no impression on him when he travelled there, and is incomparably less valuable to him than Spain, which he had never seen. He notes the fortunes of Sir John Hawkwood and his companies in Italy, and some of the business of the Papacy, and with some detail and in his best manner the rise of the Visconti at Milan; but he did not know nor care what Petrarch and Boccaccio were about, and he brought back from his Italian travels nothing in the smallest degree resembling the acquisitions of Chaucer. He was made for the world he lived in; and the meteors that were flickering here and there as intimations of a change that was drawing on, the restlessness, the misgivings by which the spirit of Petrarch was

Froissart's Limitations

Italy and Spain

INTRODUCTION

disquieted, had no effect on Froissart, and lay beyond his consciousness. Froissart's soul was at ease :—

'Coer qui reçoit en bon gré
Ce que le temps li envoie
En bien, en plaisance, en joie,
Son eage use en santé,
Partout dire l'oseroie.'[1]

These moral sentiments of Froissart express his own mind thoroughly :—he took in good part whatever Time sent him, and spent his life happily, quite at home in the world where he found himself. No one would go to him for anything like those intimations of vast unachieved discoveries in literature such as perplex and disturb the life of Petrarch—'dreaming on things to come'—and make him what he is for every one who has come under his influence. If Froissart had known the letters of Petrarch he would not have liked nor understood them ; he would have dismissed them with another of his moral verses, in which the old proverbial judgment is reiterated against those who look for better bread than is made of good wheat :—

Petrarch

'C'est grant folie de querir
Meilleur pain que de bon froment.'[2]

But if Froissart, compared to Petrarch, be wanting in depth and originality, wanting in perception for anything beyond the ordinary ranges of life, it is not just to put him down as limited or partial in his treatment of his own proper ground. If his work be superficial—and this is what is alleged against him,—at any rate there is a good extent of surface, and many things come into the picture besides the vainglory of the age of chivalry. To judge from some accounts of him, one might imagine that there was a tournament on every second page, and that the matter of the *Chronicles* was the same as that of *Meliador*, where indeed

Froissart's Qualities

[1] *L'Espinette*, l. 1021 ; *virelay*.
[2] *Trésor amoureux : Poésies*, Ed. Scheler, iii. p. 161.

the vanities have their own way, and ample room to display themselves. The knight-errant, it is true, is there, as he is in Chaucer's *Prologue*, come back from Pruce or Gernade. But Robert of Namur or Guy of Châtillon is no more fantastic than Chaucer's Knight; and as for tournaments, if they are a sign of decay, then the age of chivalry was already far gone long before this, for tournaments are made more of in the sober biography of William the Marshall than in Froissart's *Chronicles*. When it is said that Froissart writes as if the whole of life were one long holiday for lords and knights, is there not some confusion between the temper of the historian and the things he writes about? Undoubtedly Froissart takes the whole of life with enjoyment, and his *Chronicles*, in spite of the falls of princes, are not depressing to read. Nor is the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*: it was written by an historian with the same invincibly happy temperament as Froissart. But the contented minds of Froissart and Gibbon do not misrepresent the facts by leaving out afflictions and distresses. Though Froissart may be kept alive for his fifty years of chronicle-writing by an equanimity of nature that protects him from the strain of tragic emotions and from melancholy, and though his demeanour, like Gibbon's, may be too placid for readers with a taste for gloom and fire in historical pictures, he does not cover up the miseries of life or cry peace when there is no peace. It is not a theatrical or unreal life in his pages: it is not the less real because it is showy in some of its aspects; and most of the fighting in it is not showy, but grim enough. Froissart is no more ostentatious with his banners and pennons waving in the wind than the Books of Moses are, when they go into details about knops and bowls and lavers, and ram-skins dyed red. And much of the warfare in Froissart, as in Jean le Bel, is chivalrous just in the sense that any war may be chivalrous where there is courage and heroism. It

Veracity

Froissart and Gibbon

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would not be grossly misleading to say of Froissart that life as he represents it is all ambuscades and surprises, hungry and heavy marching in pursuit of invisible enemies, all weariness, wounds, death, and captivity of good knights. The end of Chandos was rather wretched:—'he slode and fell down at the joining with his enemies,' and a squire gave him his death-wound with a stroke coming on his blind side, for he had only one eye. The Captal died in prison, and Sir Enguerrand of Coucy died broken-hearted in captivity among the Turks, after he had seen the butchery at Nicopolis, the most pitiful and most shameful ruin of the best knighthood of Christendom.

Froissart and Morris

It would be easier to prove Froissart a writer of sad stories than a chronicler of the false splendours of chivalry, if one were set down with his book before one to find illustrative passages by turning over his pages. William Morris in his poems from Froissart (in the *Defence of Guinevere* volume) has discovered more of the spirit of his history than the professed historians who complain of his levity and cheerfulness. Froissart, it is true, does not ponder much on themes like those of *Sir Peter Harpdon's End* or *Concerning Geoffrey Teste Noire*; but he knows the cruelty of war, and if he had wanted knowledge of such griefs, and of the way human beings are wrung by them, he might have learned from Jean le Bel's heroic work what such things are. But he did not need this instruction.

The Ways of Chivalry

Froissart's wars are no doubt influenced by the chivalrous ideal, which counted for something in the life of the Fourteenth Century. Don Quixote, if he had lived in the time of Chaucer's Knight, would have been considered sound in his principles and not remarkably extravagant in his manner of expressing himself. He might have justified himself by the example of the English knights-bachelors in 1337, who went to win their ladies' grace in the fields of France, each with a patch over one eye. He might have quoted the

companion of Ywain of Wales, on the French side in 1369, who was commonly called the Pursuivant of Love. King John of France founded the Company of the Star, which was to be like the Round Table of King Arthur; and Chandos and a French lord disputed before Poitiers because 'each of them bare one manner of device, a blue lady 'embroidered in a sunbeam above on their apparel.' But if this be vanity, it is not all that Froissart has to tell: the battle of Poitiers was a real battle, and not a mere thing in a story-book. Froissart understands the gentlemen who went into war 'their bodies to advance,' to win honour; but it is no design of his to turn them into absolute romantic knights. Froissart, who could write verse about a small boy making dams in running water at Valenciennes, was not offended by real things, and never tried to alter the reports he got (from James Audley and others) in order to make his *Chronicles* look more like the adventures of *Meliador*. He shows no preference for the kind of fighting which is most like tournaments. Joinville praises a battle in which there is nothing but clean strokes in the mellay, no interference of bolts or arrows; but Froissart knows many different kinds of fighting, and does not disparage any of them for the sake of that which was of course the noblest. His great captains and his other valiant men are not reduced to the abstract type of chivalry. Bertrand du Guesclin is perhaps not treated with full justice by Froissart, but at any rate he is one of the 'prowest,' and he is very different from the conventional romantic hero. Froissart understands the practical hard-working military man, from Edward the Black Prince, Sir Walter Manny, Sir John Chandos, Bertrand du Guesclin, Oliver Clisson, to the less eminent ranks of Sir Robert Knolles and Sir John Hawkwood, and lower than these the chiefs of brigands, Bacon, Crokart, Geoffrey Teste Noire, and Aymerigot Marcel. The adventures are varied, the men engaged in them are not all alike.

The Reality of Poitiers

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Froissart and Barbour

Froissart's story resembles Barbour's in many places—not only where they are telling of the same matter in the same order, as in the scene of the death of the Bruce, but where the same kind of incident is found in different places. The 'sleights' of Barbour are like the 'subtilties' of Froissart, especially where there are fortresses to be taken. Any one who has been told that Froissart is all tournaments and vanity should read the story of the ingenious person who won the city and castle of Evreux, 'the which as than was French,' in Berners, cap. clxxvi.: how he talked pleasantly to the captain and got into the castle, with authentic news that the kings of Denmark and Ireland had made an alliance and were going to destroy all England. It might have had a place among the 'interludes and jeopardies' of the Bruce, along with the story of William Bunnock at Linlithgow or the 'trains' made by Sir James Douglas.

Omissions

Some of the liveliest of Froissart's episodes did not find their way into the vulgate text, and so did not reach Lord Berners. One of these is the game of chess between King Edward and the Countess of Salisbury; another is the story of Oliver de Mauny at the siege of Rennes. They are worth considerably more than most commentaries and criticisms, and the readers of Froissart may be left to form their own judgment upon them, as upon the rest of the book to which these omitted chapters belong. This is the story of the king's game of chess. In Berners, cap. lxxvii. (p. 195 in this volume), it reads, 'All that day the kyng taryed ther,' etc. From that point the fuller version goes on as follows, unhappily not in the English of Lord Berners:—

King Edward plays Chess

'After dinner the tables were removed. Then the king sent lord Reynold Cobham and lord Richard Stamford to the host and the companions who were lodged under the castle to know how they did, and that they should make ready, for he wished to ride on and follow the Scots, and that they should send on all the carriages and the munitions, and by the evening he would

be with them. And he ordered the Earl of Pembroke to make the rear-guard with five hundred lances, and that they should wait for him on the field till he should come, and all the rest should ride forward. The two barons did all as he commanded.

'And he remained still in the castle with the lady, and hoped that before his departure he would have response more agreeable than he had had as yet. So he called for chess, and the lady had it brought in. Then the king asked the lady to play with him, and she consented gladly, for she made him all the good cheer that she might. And well was she bound thereto, for the king had done her a fair service in raising the siege of the Scots before the castle, and again she was obliged because the king was her right and natural lord in fealty and homage. At the outset of the game of chess, the king, who wished that something of his might be won by the lady, challenged her, laughing, and said, "Madam, what will your stake be at the game?" And she answered: "And yours, sir?" Then the king set down on the board a fair ring that he wore with a large ruby. Then said the countess, "Sir, sir, I have no ring so rich as yours is." "Madam," said the king, "that which you have, set it down, and consider not so narrowly."

'Then the countess to please the king drew from her finger a light ring of gold of no great worth. And they played at chess together, the lady with all the wit and skill she could, that the king might not hold her for too simple and ignorant; and the king played false, and would not play as well as he knew. And there was scarce pausing between the moves but the king looked so hard on the lady that she was all put out of countenance, and made mistakes in her play. And when the king saw that she had lost a rook or a knight or what not, he would lose also to restore the lady's game.

'They played on till at last the king lost, and was checkmate with a bishop. Then the lady rose and called for the wine and comfits, for the king, as it seemed, was about to depart. And she took her ring and put it on her finger, and she would fain have had the king take back his own again, and presented it to him and said: "Sir, it is not meet that in my

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King Edward plays Chess

house I should take anything of yours, but rather you should take of mine." "Nay, madam," said the king, "but the game has made it so, and if I had won be assured that I should have carried yours away." The countess would not press the king further, but went to one of her damsels, and gave her the ring, and said: "When you shall see that the king has gone out, and taken leave of me, and is about to mount his horse, do you go forward and render him his ring again, courteously, and say that in no wise will I retain it, for it is not mine." And the damsel answered that so she would readily do.

'At this the wine and the comfits came in. And the king would not take of them before the lady, nor the lady before him, and there was there a great debate all in mirth between them. Finally it was agreed, to make it short, that it should be together, as soon the one as the other. After this, and when the king's knights had all drunk, the king took leave of the lady, and said to her aloud, so that no one should comment upon it: "Madam, you abide in your house, and I will go to follow my enemies." The lady at these words courtesied low before the king. And the king freely took her by the hand and pressed it a little, to his contentment, in sign of love. And the king watched until knights and damsels were busy taking leave of one another; then he came forward again to say two words alone: "My dear lady, to God I commend you till I return again, praying you to advise you otherwise than you have said to me." "My dear lord," answered the lady, "God the Father glorious be your conduct, and put you out of all base and dishonourable thoughts, for I am and ever shall be ready to serve you to your honour and mine."

'Then the king went out of the room, and the countess also, who conveyed him to the hall where his palfrey was. Then the king said that he would not mount while the lady was there, so to make it short the countess took her full and final leave of the king and his knights and returned to her bower with her maidens. When the king was about to mount, the damsel whom the countess had instructed came to the king and knelt; and when the king saw her he raised her up very speedily, and

thought that she would have spoken of another matter than she did. Then she said: "My lord, here is the ring which my lady returns to you, and prays you not to hold it as discourtesy, for she wishes not to have it remaining with her. You have done so much for her in other manners that she is bound, she says, to be your servant always." The king, when he heard the damsel and saw his ring that she had, and was told of the wish and the excuse of the countess, was all amazed. Nevertheless he made up his mind quickly according to his own will; and in order that the ring might remain in that house as he had intended, he answered briefly, for long speech was needless, and said: "Mistress, since your lady likes not the little gain that she won of me, let it stay in your keeping." Then he mounted quickly and rode out of the castle to the lawn where his knights were, and found the Earl of Pembroke waiting him with five hundred lances and more. Then they set out all together and followed the host. And the damsel returned and told the king's answer, and gave back the ring that the king had lost at chess. But the countess would not have it and claimed no right to it: the king had given it to the damsel, let her take it and welcome. So the king's ring was left with the damsel.'

The story of Oliver de Mauny at the siege of Rennes, and of John Bolton and the partridges, belongs to 1357, and would have appeared in Berners, cap. clxxv., where he gives the coming of the young bachelor 'Bertrande of Glesquyne,' but not of his cousin:—

The Adventure of the Partridges

'And there were newly come to the siege two young bachelors, cousins german, who were afterwards much renowned in the realm of France and the realm of Spain, as you will hear further on in this history. These two cousins were named Bertrand du Guesclin and Oliver de Mauny. And the said Bertrand during the siege fought in single combat with an English knight, likewise renowned, called Sir Thomas Dagworth; and the combat was appointed for three courses with a lance, three strokes of an axe, and three strokes of a dagger.

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The Adventure of the Partridges

And these two champions acquitted themselves valiantly to their great honour; howbeit the said Bertrand gave such a stroke of his axe to the said Englishman that he smote him to the ground with violence. And there it ended. And they were eagerly watched by those within and also by those without: then they left the field without great hurt to either. So the Duke Henry of Lancaster kept his siege before Rennes a long time, and made many assaults, but nothing gained there.

'Now it happened one day during the siege that an English knight, Sir John Bolton, a man of valour in war, had been for sport to the fields with his sparrowhawk, and had taken six partridges. He mounted his horse, armed at all points, with his partridges in his hand, and came before the barriers of the city and began calling to the townsmen that he wished to speak with Sir Bertrand du Guesclin. Now it chanced that Oliver de Mauny was standing above the gate to watch the condition of the English host; and he perceived and was aware of the Englishman with his partridges, and asked him what he wanted and whether he would sell or give his partridges to the ladies who were in the place besieged. "By my faith," answered the English knight to Oliver, "if you dare bring your bargain nearer and come and fight with me, you have found your chapman." "In God's name," said Oliver, "yea, wait for me and I will pay you on the nail." Then he came down from the walls to the ditches, which were all full of water, and plunged in and swam, and crossed them, armed at all points save the harness of the legs and his gauntlets, and came to his chapman who was waiting for him. Then they fought, valiantly and long, and quite near to the host of the Duke of Lancaster, who looked on well pleased, and forbade any one going forth to them. And also those of the town and the ladies who were there took great delight in watching them. The two valiant men fought on, and the end of it was that Sir Oliver de Mauny overcame his chapman, Sir John Bolton, with his partridges, and carried him off without his leave and sore wounded across the ditches and into the town, and presented him to the ladies with the said partridges, and they received him gladly and did him great honour.

tout sec

'It was not long afterwards that Oliver felt his wounds paining him sore, and could not get the herbs that he knew would cure him. So he called upon his prisoner courteously and said: "Sir John, I am hard wounded; and I know some herbs out there which with the help of God would cure and restore me. Now, I will tell you what you shall do: you shall go out from here and go to the Duke of Lancaster your lord, and bring me a safe-conduct for myself and three men for a month till I am healed; and if you can obtain it for me I will let you go free, and if not, then you will return here to be my prisoner as before." At this news Sir John Bolton was well pleased, and went away to the English court, where he was gladly welcomed by all, and by the Duke of Lancaster no less, who rallied him well about the partridges. *assez le rigola des perdrix* And then he made his request and the Duke granted it, and gave him the safe-conduct written and sealed. Sir John returned at once with the safe-conduct, and gave it to his captor, Sir Oliver de Mauny, who said that he had done admirably and forthwith freed him from his captivity. And they set out together from the good city of Rennes and came to the host of the Duke of Lancaster, who was glad to see them, and received them heartily and showed great kindness to Oliver. And the Duke said that he had a noble heart, and proved that he would yet be a valiant man and of great prowess, "when to get my safe-conduct and a few simples he had released a prisoner who might well have paid him ten thousand florins of gold." After this the Duke appointed a room to lodge Oliver de Mauny, and ordered it to be richly hung and furnished, and every one to give and afford him all that he might require. There was Oliver housed in the camp of the Duke, and the surgeons and physicians of the Duke attended him and visited him every day; and also the Duke came often to see him and cheer him. And he stayed there and was healed of his wounds; then he took his leave of the Duke of Lancaster, and thanked him much for the great honour he had done him; and also he took leave of the other gentlemen and of Sir John Bolton, his prisoner that had been. But at his going the Duke of Lancaster gave him some fine

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plate in a present and said to him: "Mauny, I pray you commend me to the ladies, and tell them that we have often wished for partridges for them." With this Sir Oliver departed and came to the city of Rennes, where he was joyfully received by every one great and small, and by the ladies, for whom he had plenty of news; and more especially to his cousin Bertrand de Guesclin he told the whole of his adventure, and they had much mirth of it between them, for they loved one another well, and afterwards till their death, as you shall hear recounted later in this story.'

Froissart and Chaucer

Chaucer was harder than he need have been to the two cousins in his Monk's *Tragedy of Peter of Spain*: whatever 'cursedness' they may have brewed later for the ally of the Black Prince, this episode would make one think well of Mauny, 'wicked nest' though Chaucer calls him. Another passage of Chaucer comes to mind in another way to illustrate the history of Froissart: the battle of Actium in the *Legend of Cleopatra*, saint and martyr, has its companion, if not its original, in Froissart's sea battle at La Rochelle on St. John's Eve, 1372 (Berners, cap. ccxcvii.-ccxcix.), when the Earl of Pembroke was taken. The Spaniards are not said to have thrown pease on the hatches to make them 'slidder,' as was done at Actium; but the nature of the business is the same in both, and no more and no less chivalrous in either than the affair of the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*.

Description as Ornament

Description with Froissart is seldom employed for the mere sake of ornament. He has not in his prose, and not very noticeably in his poetry, the common taste of the Middle Ages for elaborate catalogues of furniture and minute descriptions of works of art, such as the sculptures at the beginning of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, or the pictures of the *Æneid* in Chaucer's temple of Venus in the first book of the *House of Fame*. When he takes up this kind of work, as in the pageants for the queen's entry into Paris in 1389, he does it with a will, but he does not introduce

such things irrelevantly. Generally it will be found that where he is most brilliant with his scenery and properties he is also most dramatic: they accompany the action, and do not impede one's view of it. He is very particular about the way things appeared on the blazing day when King Charles VI. fell into his frenzy (Berners, II. clxxxvii.):—

How the King lost his Wits

'The French King rode upon a fair plain in the heat of the sun, which was as then of a marvellous height, and the King had on a jack of black velvet, which sore chafed him, and on his head a single bonnet of scarlet, and a chaplet of great pearls which the Queen had given him at his departure, and he had a page that rode behind him bearing on his head a chapeau of Montauban bright and clear shining against the sun, and behind that page rode another bearing the King's spear painted red and fringed with silk, with a sharp head of steel; the Lord de la River had brought a dozen of them with him from Toulouse, and that was one of them; he had given the whole dozen to the King, and the King had given three of them to his brother the Duke of Orleans and three to the Duke of Bourbon. And as they rode thus forth the page that bare the spear, whether it were by negligence or that he fell asleep, he let the spear fall on the other page's head that rode before him, and the head of the spear made a great clash on the bright chapeau of steel. The King, who rode but afore them, with the noise suddenly started, and his heart trembled, and into his imagination ran the impression of the words of the man that stopped his horse in the forest of Mans, and it ran into his thought that his enemies ran after him to slay and destroy him, and with that abusion he fell out of his wit by feebleness of his head, and dashed his spurs to his horse and drew out the sword and turned to his pages, having no knowledge of any man, weening himself to be in a battle enclosed with his enemies, and lift up his sword to strike, he cared not where, and cried and said: "On, on upon these traitors!"'

Here no doubt an educated taste would blame the excessive notice of particulars, as Dante was criticised by Warton

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for relating things 'circumstantially and without rejection.' But Froissart does not always write so vividly, and here the circumstances are given 'without rejection,' because he is leading up to the event that gives them all their right proportion; his mind is not like that of the conventional poets who were accustomed to put in a description of a king's pavilion or of pictures in a hall when they could not think of anything better to fill out their story. Froissart's descriptive passages are not the lazy intervals in his history, like the pauses for ornamental catalogues of precious things in the old French romances, not to speak of other and more classical kinds of poem. Froissart's mode of description varies with the dramatic interest of the scene—taking 'dramatic' to mean generally whatever belongs to the action. He is never still for a moment. He does not put down blocks of inanimate detail between his passages of adventure. His writing is made what it is principally through his sense of time—that is, his sense of the way things change their appearance as the plot develops itself. There is another chapter which shows this plainly enough: the description of Edward III., as admiral, waiting for the Spanish fleet in 1350—an addition of Froissart's own to the matter he borrowed from Jean le Bel, and an example of the strength of his early work even before he had come to rely entirely on his own materials. Unfortunately this did not come into Lord Berners' copy, the early French Editions having a bad text about that part, confused, abridged, and padded with extracts from other chronicles:—

Froissart's Descriptions relevant and essential

The King as Admiral

'The King of England, who was at sea with his fleet, had given order fully for all that was to be done and for the manner of engaging the enemy, and had made my Lord Robert of Namur captain of a ship, which was called *La Sale du Roy*, where all his household was. And the King sat on the quarter-deck of his ship, wearing a jack of black velvet, and on his head a black beaver hat that became him well. And as I was told

by those who were with him that day, he was as merry as he had ever been in his life, and made his minstrels play before him a dance of Almayne that Sir John Chandos, who was with him, had newly brought over. And further for his pastime he made the said knight sing to the minstrels' music, and took great delight in it. And ever he looked aloft, for he had set a watch in the topcastle of his ship to give warning when the Spaniards came on.

'Now when the King was taking his pleasure thus, and all the knights very glad to see him of such good cheer, the watch that saw the Spaniards heave in sight said:—"Ho! I see a ship, and it looks like a ship of Spain." Then the minstrels ceased; and he was asked if he saw more. Not long after he answered and said, "Yes, I see two—and three—and four." And then when he saw the main fleet:—"I see so many, God help me, that I cannot tell them all." Then the King and his people knew that it was the Spaniards. Then he bade sound his trumpets, and all their ships drew in to be more in order and better for defence, for they knew that they should have battle since the Spaniards came in so large a fleet. By this time it was late, upon the hour of vespers or thereabout; and the King called for wine and drank, as also did all his knights, and put his basnet on his head, and so did the others.'

Qui perçut nestre la navie des Espagnolz

His Art a vivid and intimate apprehension of Life

Froissart has so often been praised for picturesque work, that it is allowable to refine a little about the excellence of this, and to observe that it is plainly dramatic, and only picturesque in an incidental way, the imaginative vision of Froissart being wakened to the picturesque things in the scene—as in that other of the madness of the King of France—by his sympathy with the dramatic life in it. The figure of the king would be nothing much without the suspense of the adventure approaching. What Froissart feels most vividly and with most delight is not the charm of the king's majesty nor yet the accompaniment of Chandos's Almain, the minstrels and the song, but the movement of the hour as it passes, and its effect on the king's mind. The gesture

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of the king, as his eyes shift to the look-out on the maintop, is what really makes the value of Froissart's description, and the other points in the story are lively because of this interest in the future event. There is nothing very deep or very far fetched in the art of Froissart, but it is not untrue or irrelevant. It aims at the centre, and is kept to its task and carried through it by an instinctive pleasure in the dramatic motives, though these are little elaborated or analysed.

The Sum and Substance of it all

Thus with all his defects he is one of the chief mediæval writers, and his work is the culmination of a great mediæval school, the school of adventurous history, which begins in those heroic poems of France, whose old forms were still available in Froissart's time for the epic of Bertrand du Guesclin.[1] That poem, however, was the last of its heroic race, and prose had come to be more generally convenient for historical work, as Froissart found in his youth. It had learned some of its capabilities before Froissart began; indeed, he added little to the school of historical prose except his wider range and his indefatigable spirit. He had models in his predecessors for almost everything he did, and he is inferior to some of them in some things. He cannot have more dignity than Villehardouin, more weight of expression than Jean le Bel; Joinville had more intimate knowledge of the life he wrote about, and his reminiscences come from a deeper source. Froissart completes the older school, however, in a way that was scarce possible later. He carried on the mediæval love of adventure and the old simple methods of story-telling into a time when other fashions were making themselves evident and claiming to be recognised. Before the new generations break in, before the ideals of Petrarch come into possession of the world, Froissart takes leisure to look about him, and spends fifty

[1] *La Vie du vaillant Bertran du Guesclin* (par Cuvelier), edited in *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, 1839; a *chanson de geste* in Alexandrines:—

'Seigneurs or escoutez, pour Dieu le roi divin.'

years in a large comprehensive history, where the life of the world is represented according to the mediæval traditions of good narrative. He was well equipped and well protected. He had no suspicion nor misgiving about the new fashions, and took no notice of their allurements; the Humanities and their new scholarship found him impenitent and insensible. His humanism was of an older and more Gothic kind, which very naturally was disparaged as too quaint and barbarous when the Italian classical rules of poetry and rhetoric began to dominate the literature of Europe. But his work remains with that of the other old French historians to prove how well the Middle Ages understood some essential principles of narrative, and even of grammar, when that liberal art is taken liberally. He does not indeed represent all the powers and virtues of mediæval literature; but though other writers may have gone deeper and higher, none before him had commanded so wide a field with so little sign of labour and weariness. 'Wise and imaginative,' the terms that he is fond of using in his praise of kings and lords, are not inapplicable to Froissart, though the wisdom and imagination may be different from those of the greatest masters. He had at any rate the wisdom that he claimed for himself—of taking things as they came; and his imagination was of the same kind. It saved him from false rhetoric, and Lord Berners in translating him did more for the humanitie sthan when he adapted the examples of the Spanish rhetorical school. Montaigne, who is entitled to speak for the new age, has given his opinion, and will hardly be contradicted when he pronounces Guevara a little overpraised, or when he discovers something akin to his own freedom in the variety of Froissart.

W. P. K.

INTRODUCTION

Narrative the Mediæval Art

'sages et ymaginatifs'

Montaigne

NOTE

For this Edition, Utterson's reprint of Pynson has been used: the text has been collated with the original. Punctuation has been revised throughout: in many cases Pynson's has been preferred before Utterson's. In spelling, u *and* v *have been distinguished, and capital letters have been employed where it seemed convenient. In some places the text has been emended, with Pynson's reading put in the margin and noted 'P.' Several new readings here adopted are those of Mr. G. C. Macaulay in his Edition of Berners for the 'Globe' series: a book to which the present Editor wishes to acknowledge many obligations.*

The erroneous proper names are a most serious difficulty. To impose new names on an old text seemed violent. How is one to correct 'therle of Anxell and therle of Sanxes,' for instance? 'Don Tello' and 'Don Sancho' are not in terms of Bourchier's language, and to borrow the 'Dans Telles' or 'Dans Sanxes' of the French would be equally impossible. The names, then, have been kept, with some minor corrections. Berners, as he says in his Preface, meant to keep the difficult names as he found them; so here the first French text of A. Verard (1495?) *has been taken to control the mistakes of the English printers. An Index of Names which will appear in Vol. vi. will explain difficulties of this sort; in the meantime the more important cases are placed in the margin. The Editor is much indebted for help in this, and in collation of texts, to Mr. J. P. Anderson of the British Museum, and to Mr. R. W. Chambers of University College, London.*

HERE BEGYNNETH THE FIRST VOLUM OF

SYR JOHAN FROYSSART

OF THE CRONYCLES OF ENGLANDE, FRAUNCE, SPAYNE, PORTYNGALE, SCOTLANDE, BRETAYNE, FLAUNDERS: AND OTHER PLACES ADIOYNYNGE. TRANSLATED OUT OF FRENCHE INTO OURE MATERNALL ENGLYSSHE TONGE, BY IOHAN BOURCHIER, KNIGHT, LORDE BERNERS: AT THE COMMAUNDEMENT OF OURE MOOST HIGHE REDOUTED SOVERAYNE LORDE KYNG HENRYE THE VIII. KYNGE OF ENGLANDE AND OF FRAUNCE, AND HIGHE DEFENDER OF THE CHRISTEN FAYTHE, ETC.

[1523]

THE PREFACE

OF JOHAN BOURCHIER, KNYGHT, LORD BERNERS,

TRANSLATOUR OF THIS PRESENT CRONYCLE

WHAT condygne graces and thankes ought men to gyve to the writers of historyes, who with their great labours, have done so moche profyte to the humayne lyfe? They shewe, open, manifest and declare to the reder, by example of olde antyquite, what we shulde enquere, desyre, and folowe; and also, what we shulde eschewe, avoyde, and utterly flye: for whan we (beynge unexpert of chaunces) se, beholde, and rede the auncyent actes, gestes, and dedes, howe and with what labours, daungers, and paryls they were gested and done, they right greatly admonest, ensigne, and teche us howe we maye lede forthe our lyves. And farther, he that hath the perfyte knowledge of others joye, welthe, and highe prosperite, and also trouble, sorowe, and great adversyte, hath thexpert doctryne of all parylles. And albeit that mortall folke are marveylously separated, both by lande and water, and right wonderously sytuate; yet are they and their actes (done peradventure by the space of a thousande yere) compact togyder by thistographier, as it were the dedes of one selfe cyte, and in one mannes lyfe. Wherfore I say, that historie may well be called a divyne provydence; for as the celestyall bodyes above complecte all and at every tyme the universall worlde, the creatures therin conteyned, and all their dedes, semblably so dothe history. Is it nat a right noble thynge for us, by the fautes and errours of other,

THE PREFACE OF THE TRANS-LATOUR

to amende and erect our lyfe into better? We shulde nat seke and acquyre that other dyd; but what thyng was most best, most laudable, and worthely done, we shulde putte before our eyes to folowe. Be nat the sage counsayles of two or thre olde fathers in a cyte, towne, or countre, whom long age hath made wyse, dyscrete, and prudent, far more praysed, lauded, and derely loved than of the yonge menne? Howe moche more than ought hystories to be commended, praysed, and loved, in whom is encluded so many sage counsayls, great reasons, and hygh wisedoms of so innumerable persons, of sondry nacyons, and of every age, and that in so long space as four or fyve hundred yere. The most profytable thyng in this worlde for the instytution of the humayne lyfe is hystorie. Ones, the contynuall redyng therof maketh yonge men equall in prudence to olde men, and to olde fathers stryken in age it mynystreth experyence of thynges. More, it yeldeth private persons worthy of dignyte, rule, and governaunce: it compelleth themperours, hygh rulers, and governours to do noble dedes, to thende they may optayne immortall glory: it exciteth, moveth, and stereth the strong hardy warriours, for the great laude that they have after they ben deed, promptly to go in hande with great and harde parels, in defence of their countre: and it prohibyteth reprovable persons to do mischevous dedes, for feare of infamy and shame. So thus, through the monumentes of writynge, whiche is the testymony unto vertue, many men have ben moved, some to bylde cytes, some to devyse and establisshe lawes right profitable, necessarie, and behovefull for the humayne lyfe: some other to fynde newe artes, craftes, and sciences, very requisyte to the use of mankynde. But above all thynges, wherby mans welthe ryseth, speciall laude and praise[1] ought to be gyven to historie: it is the keper of suche thinges as have ben vertuously done, and the wytnesse of yvell dedes: and by the benefite of hystorie all noble, highe, and vertuous actes be immortall. What moved the strong and ferse Hercules to enterpryse in his lyfe so many great incomparable labours and paryls? Certaynly nought els but that for his meryt immortalyte mought be gyven to hym of all folke. In semblable wyse dyd his imytator, noble duke Theseus, and many other innumerable

[1] *cause* P.

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worthy princes and famouse men, whose vertues ben redemed from oblyvion and shyne by historie. And whereas other monumentes in processe of tyme by varyable chaunces are confused and lost: the vertue of history dyffused and spredde throughe the unyversall worlde, hath to her custos and kepar, it (that is to say, tyme), whiche consumeth the other writynges. And albeit that those menne are right worthy of great laude and prayse, who by their writynges shewe and lede us the waye to vertue: yet neverthelesse, the poems, lawes, and other actes that they founde devysed and writ, ben mixed with some domage: and somtyme for the trueth they ensigne a man to lye. But onelye hystorie, truely with wordes representyng the actes, gestes, and dedes done, complecteth all profyte: it moveth, stereth, and compelleth to honestie; detesteth, erketh, and abhorreth vices: it extolleth, enhaunceth, and lyfteth up suche as ben noble and vertuous; depresseth, poystereth, and thrusteth downe such as ben wicked, yvell, and reprovable. What knowlege shulde we have of auncyent thynges past, and historie were nat? whiche is the testymony therof, the lyght of trouthe, the maystres of the lyfe humayne, the presydent of remembraunce, and the messanger of antiquyte. Why moved and stered Phaleryus the kynge Ptholome, oft and dilygently to rede bokes? Forsothe for none other cause, but that those thynges are founde writen in bokes, that the frendes dare nat shewe to the prince. Moche more I wolde fayne write of the incomparable profyte of hystorie, but I feare me that I shulde to sore tourment the reder of this my preface; and also I doute nat but that the great utilyte therof is better knowen than I coulde declare; wherfore I shall brevely come to a poynt. Thus, whan I advertysed and remembred the manyfolde comodyties of hystorie, howe benefyciall it is to mortall folke, and eke howe laudable and merytoryous a dede it is to write hystories, fixed my mynde to do some thyng therin; and ever whan this ymaginacyon came to me, I volved, tourned, and redde many volumes and bokes, conteyning famouse histories. And amonge all other, I redde dilygently the four volumes or bokes of sir Johan Froyssart of the countrey of Heynaulte, written in the Frenche tonge, whiche I judged comodyous, necessarie, and

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profytable to be hadde in Englysshe, sithe they treat of the famous actes done in our parties; that is to say, in Englande, Fraunce, Spaygne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaunders, and other places adjoyning; and specially they redounde to the honoure of Englysshemen. What pleasure shall it be to the noble gentylmen of Englande to se, beholde, and rede the highe enterprises, famous actes, and glorious dedes done and atchyved by their valyant aunceytours? Forsothe and God, this hath moved me at the highe comaundement of my moost redouted soverayne lorde kynge Henry the viii. kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, and highe defender of the christen faythe, etc., under his gracyous supportacyon, to do my devoyre to translate out of Frenche into our maternall Englysshe tonge the sayd volumes of sir Johan Froyssart: whiche cronycle begynneth at the raygne of the moost noble and valyant kynge Edwarde the thyrde, the yere of our lorde a thousande thre hundred and sixtene: and contynueth to the begynning of the reigne of king Henry the fourth, the yere of our Lorde God a thousande and foure hundred: the space bytwene is threscore and fourtene yeres; requyrynge all the reders and herers therof to take this my rude translacion in gre. And in that I have nat folowed myne authour worde by worde, yet I trust I have ensewed the true reporte of the sentence of the mater; and as for the true namyng of all maner of personages, countreis, cyties, townes, ryvers, or feldes, whereas I coude nat name them properly nor aptely in Englysshe, I have written them acordynge as I founde them in Frenche; and thoughe I have nat gyven every lorde, knyght, or squyer his true addycion, yet I trust I have nat swarved fro the true sentence of the mater. And there as I have named the dystaunce bytwene places by myles and leages, they must be understande acordyng to the custome of the countreis where as they be named, for in some place they be lengar than in some other; in Englande a leage or myle is well knowen; in Fraunce a leage is two myles, and in some place thre: and in other countre is more or lesse; every nacion hath sondrie customes. And if any faute be in this my rude translacyon, I remyt the correctyon therof to them that discretely shall fynde any reasonable defaute;

and in their so doynge, I shall pray God to sende them the blysse of heven. Amen.

Thus endeth the preface of sir Johan Bourchier, knight, lorde Berners, translatour of this present cronycle: and herafter foloweth the table, with all the chapiters as they stande in the boke in order, from one to four hundred fyftie and one, whiche be in nombre CCCC. and li. chapiters.

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THE CRONYCLE OF FROISSART

THE FIRST CHAPTRE

Here begynneth the Prologe of syr John Froissart of the Cronicles of Fraunce, Inglande, and other places adioynynge.

TO thentent that the honorable and noble aventures of featis of armes, done and achyved by the warres of France and Inglande, shulde notably be inregistered and put in perpetuall memory, whereby the prewe and hardy may have ensample to incourage them in theyr well doyng, I syr John Froissart wyll treat and recorde an hystory of great louage and preyse: but or I begyn, I require the Savyour of all the worlde, who of nothyng created al thynges, that he wyll gyve me suche grace and understandyng, that I may continue and persever in such wyse, that who so this proces redeth, or hereth, may take pastaunce, pleasure, and ensample. It is sayd of trouth, that al buyldynges are masoned and wroughte of dyverse stones, and all great ryvers are gurged and assemblede of divers surges and sprynges of water; in lykewyse all sciences are extraught and compiled of diverse clerkes; of that one wryteth, another paraventure is ignorant; but by the famous wrytyng of auncient auctours, all thyngis ben knowen in one place or other. Than to attaygne to the mater that I have entreprised, I wyll begyn fyrst, by the grace of God and of the blessed Virgyn our Lady Saynt Mary, from whom all comfort and consolation procedeth, and wyll take my foundation out of the true cronicles somtyme compyled by the right reverend, discrete, and sage maister John la Bele, somtyme chanon in Saint Lambartis,

CAP. I
Here begynneth the Prologe of syr John Froissart.

of Liege, who with good herte and due diligence dyd his true devoure in wrytyng this noble cronicle, and dyd contynue in all his lyfes dayes, in folowyng the trouth as nere as he myght, to his great charge and coste in sekyng to have the perfight knowledge therof. He was also in his lyfes dayes welbeloved, and of the secret counsayle with the lorde sir John of Haynaulte, who is often remembred (as reason requyreth) here after in this boke: for of many fayre and noble aventures he was chiefe causer, and by whose meanes the sayd syr John la Bele myght well knowe and here of many dyvers noble dedes: the whiche here after shal be declared. Trouth it is, that I who have entreprised this boke to ordeyne for pleasure and pastaunce, to the whiche alwayes I have been inclyned, and for that intent, I have folowed and frequented the company of dyverse noble and great lordes, as well in Fraunce, Inglande, and Scotlande, as in diverse other countries, and have had knowledge by them, and alwayes to my power, justly have inquired for the trouth of the dedis of warre and aventures that have fallen, and specially syth the great batell of Poyters, where as the noble kynge John of France was takyn prisoner, as before that tyme, I was but of a yonge age or understandyng. Howe be it I toke on me, assoone as I came from scole, to wryte and recite the sayd boke, and bare the same compyled into Ingland, and presented the volume thereof to my Lady Phelyppe, of Heynaulte, noble quene of Inglande, who right amyably receyved it to my great profite and avauncement. And it may be so, that the same boke is nat as yet examyned nor corrected, so justely as suche a case requyreth: for featis of armes derely bought and achyved, the honor therof ought to be gyven and truly devided to them, that by prowes and hard travayle have deserved it. Therfore to acquyte me in that bihalfe, and in folowyng the trouth as near as I can, I John Froissart have entreprysed this hystory on the forsaid ordynaunce and true fundacion, at the instaunce and request of a dere lorde of myn, Robert of Namure, knyght, lorde of Bewfort, to whom entierly I owe love and obeysyunce, and God graunt me to do that thyng that may be to his pleasure. Amen.

SYR JOHN FROISSART

CAP. II

Here spekethe the auctour of suche as were most valiant knyghtis to be made mencion of in this boke.

ALL noble hertis to encorage and to shewe them ensample and mater of honour, I Sir John Froissart begynne to speke after the true report and relation of my master John la Bele, somtyme Chanon of Saynt Lambertis, of Liege, affermyng thus, howe that many noble persons have oft tymes spoke of the warres of France and of Ingland, and peradventure knewe nat justely the trouth therofe, nor the true occasions of the fyrst movyngis of suche warres, nor how the warre at length contynued: but now I trust ye shall here reported the true foundation of the cause, and to thentent that I wyll nat forget, mynysshe, or abrydge the hystory in any thyng for defaute of langage: but rather I wyll multiply and encrease it as ner as I can, folowynge the trouth from poynt to poynt, in spekyng and shewyng all the aventures sith the nativite of the noble kyng Edward the III. who reigned kyng of England, and achyved many perilous aventures, and dyvers great batelles addressed, and other featis of armes of great prowes, syth the yere of our Lorde God M.CCCxxvi. that this noble kyng was crowned in Ingland: for generally suche as were with hym in his batels and happy fortunate aventures, or with his peple in his absence, ought ryght well to be takyn and reputed for valiant and worthy of renowne; and though there were great plenty of sondrye parsonages that ought to be praysed and reputed as soveraignes, yet among other, and pryncipally, ought to be renowmed the noble propre persone of the forsaid gentyll kyng; also the prynce of Walys his son, the duke of Lancaster, syr Reignolde lorde Cobham, syr Gualtier of Manny of Heynaulte, knyght, syr John Chandos, syr Fulque[1] of Harle, and dyvers other, of whom is made mencion hereafter in this present boke, bicause of theyr valyant prowes; for in all batels that they were in, most commonly they had ever

[1] *Franck of Hale.*

CAP. II
Herespekethe the auctour of suche as were most valiant knyghtis.

the renowne, both by land and by se, accordyng to the trouth. They in all theyr dedis were so valyant that they ought to be reputed as soveraignes in all chyvalry; yet for all that, suche other as were in theyr companye ought nat to be of the lesse value or lesse set by. Also in Fraunce, in that tyme, there were founde many good knyghtis, stronge and well expert in featis of armes: for the realme of Fraunce was nat so discomfited but that alwayes ther were people sufficient to fyght withall; and the kyng Philyppe of Valoyes was a ryght hardy and a valiant knyght; and also kyng John his sonne, Charles the kyng of Behaigne,[1] the erle of Alanson, the erle of Foyz, syr Saintre, syr Arnold Dangle, the lordes of Beamon,[2] the father and the sonne, and dyverse other, the whiche I can nat theyr names, of whom hereafter ryght well shall be made mencion in tyme and place convenient; [for] to say the trouth, and to maynteigne the same, all such as in cruel batels have ben seen abyding to the discomfeture, sufficiently doyng theyr devour, may wel be reputed for valyant and hardy, what soever was theyr adventure.

[1] *Bohemia.*
[2] *Beaujeu.*

CAP. III

Here the mater speketh of some of the predecessours of Kyng Edwarde of Ingland.

FIRST, the better to entre into the mater of this honorable and pleasaunt hystory of the noble Edwarde, kyng of Ingland, who was crowned at London the year of our Lorde God M.CCCxxvi. on Christmas-day, lyvyng the kyng his father and the quene his mother. It is certayne that the opinyon of Inglisshmen most comonly was as than, and often tymes it was seen in Ingland after the tyme of kyng Arthure, how that betwene two valyant kynges of Ingland, ther was most comonly one bitwene them of lesse sufficiauncy, both of wytte and of prowes; and this was ryght well aparant by the same kyng Edward the thyrde; for his graund-father, called the good kyng Edward the fyrste, was ryght valyant, sage, wyse, and

hardy, aventurous and fortunate in all featis of warre, and had moche ado agaynst the Scottis, and conquered them three or four tymes; for the Scottes coude never have victory nor indure agaynst hym; and after his dissease his sonne of his first wife, who was father to the said good kyng Edward the thyrde, was crowned kyng, and called Edward the II. who resembled nothyng to his father in wyt nor in prowes, but governed and kept his realme ryght wyldly, and ruled hymselfe by synyster counsell of certayne parsons, whereby at length he had no profytte nor lande, as ye shall here after; for anone after he was crowned, Robert Bruse, kyng of Scotlande, who had often before gyven muche ado to the sayd good kyng Edward the fyrst, conquered agayne all Scotland, and brent and wasted a great parte of the realme of England, a four or five dayes journey within the realme at two tymes, and discomfyted the kyng and all the barons of Ingland at a place in Scotland called Estarvelyn[1] by batel arengyd the day of Saynt John Baptyst, in the seventh yere of the reigne of the same kyng Edward, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCCxiiii. The chase of this discomfiture endured two dayes and two nyghtys; and the kyng of Ingland went with a small company to London: and on Mydlent Sunday, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCCxvi. the Scottis wan agayne the cite of Berwyk by treason, but bicause this is no part of our mater, I wyll leve spekyng thereof.

CAP. III

Here the mater speketh of some of the predecessours of Kyng Edwarde of Ingland.

[1] *Stirling.*

CAP. IV

Here myn auctour maketh mencion of the parent of this good kyng Edward the Third.

THIS kyng Edward the second, father to the noble kyng Edward the thyrde, had two bretheren; the one called Marshall,[2] who was ryght wyld and divers of condicions; the other called sir Aymon erle of Cane[3] right wyse, amiable, gentle, and welbeloved with al people. This kyng Edward the second was maried to Isabell, the doughter of Philyp la Beaw, kyng of Fraunce, who was one of the feyrest ladyes of the worlde. The kyng

[2] *Earl Marshal.*

[3] *Edmund Earl of Kent.*

CAP. IV

Here myn auctour maketh mencion of the parent of this good kyng Edward the Third.

had by her two sonnes and two doughters. The fyrste son was the noble and hardy kyng Edward the thyrde, of whom this hystory is begon. The second was named John, and dyed yong. The first of the doughters was called Isabel, maried to the yong kyng David of Scotland, son to kyng Robert de Bruse, maried in her tender yongth, by thaccord of both realmes of Ingland and Scotland, for to make perfight peax. The other doughter was maried to the erle Reynold, who after was called duke of Guerles,[1] and he had by her two sonnes, Reynold and Edward, who after reygned in great puissaunce.

[1] *Gueldres.*

CAP. V

Herafter begynneth the occasion wherby the warre moved bitwene the kyngis of Fraunce and Ingland.

NOW sheweth the hystory, that this Philyp la Beaw, kyng of Fraunce, had three sonnes, and a feyre doughter named Isabel, maried into Ingland to kyng Edward the second; and these three sonnes, the eldest named Lewes, who was kyng of Navarr in his father's daies, and was called kyng Lewys Hotin; the second had to name Philyp the great, or the long; and the thyrde was called Charles; and all three were kyngis of Fraunce after theyr father's discease by ryght succession eche after other, without havyng any issue male of theyr bodies laufully begoten. So that after the deth of Charlis, last kyng of the three, the twelve piers and all the barons of Fraunce wold nat gyve the realme to Isabell the suster, who was quene of Ingland, bycause they sayd and maynteyned, and yet do, that the realme of Fraunce is so noble that it ought nat to go to a woman; and so consequently to Isabel, nor to the kyng of Inglande her eldest sonne; for they determyned the sonne of the woman to have no ryght nor succession by his mother, syn they declared the mother to have no ryght; so that by these reasons the twelve piers and barons of Fraunce, by theyr comon acord, dyd gyve the realme of Fraunce to the lord Philyp of Valois, nephew

somtyme to Philyp la Beawe, kyng of Fraunce, and so put out the quene of Ingland and her sonne, who was as the next heire male, as sonne to the suster of Charles, last kyng of Fraunce. Thus went the realme of Fraunce out of the ryght lynage as it seemed to many folk, wherby great warres hath moved and fallen, and great distructions of people and countries in the realme of Fraunce and other places, as ye may hereafter. This is the very right foundation of this hystory, to recount the great entreprises and great featis of armes that have fortuned and fallen: syth the tyme of the good Charlemaigne, kyng of Fraunce, ther never fell so great adventures.

CAP. V. Herafter begynneth the occasion wherby the warre moved bitwene the kyngis of Fraunce and Ingland.

CAP. VI

Of the erle Thomas of Lancastre, and twenty-two other of the great lordis and knyghtis of Inglande that were beheeddyd.

THE forsaid kyng Edward the second, father to the noble kyng Edward the thyrde, on whom our mater is founded; this sayd kyng governed right diversly his realme by the exortacion of sir Hewe Spencer, who had been norisshed with hym syth the begynnyng of his yongth; the whiche sir Hewe had so enticed the kyng, that his father and he were the greattest maisters in all the realme, and by envy thought to surmount all other barons of Ingland, wherby after the great discomfeture that the Scottes had made at Estermelyn,[1] great murmoryng ther arose in Inglande bitwene the noble barons and the kyng's counsell, and namely, ageynst sir Hewe Spencer. They put on hym, that by his counsell they were discomfeted, and that he was favorable to the kyng of Scottes. And on this poynt the barons had divers tymes comunication together, to be advised what they myght do; wherof Thomas erle of Lancastre, who was uncle to the kyng, was chief. And anon whan sir Hew Spencer had espied this, he purveyd for remedy, for he was so great with the kyng, and so nere hym, that he was more beloved with the kyng than all the worlds after. So on a day he came to the kyng and sayd, Sir,

[1] *Stirling.*

CAP. VI
Of the erle Thomas of Lancastre.

certayn lordes of your realme have made aliaunce together agaynst you, and without ye take hede therto by tymes, they purpose to put you out of your realme: and so by his malicious meanes he caused that the kyng made all the sayd lordes to be taken, and theyr heedis to be striken of without delay, and without knowlege or answere to any cause. Fyrst of all sir Thomas erle of Lancastre, who was a noble and a wyse holy knyght, and hath done syth many fayre myracles in Pomfret, where he was beheedded, for the whiche dede the sayd sir Hewe Spencer achyved great hate in all the realme, and specially of the quene, and of the erle of Cane,[1] brother to the kyng. And whan he parceyved the dyspleasure of the quene, by his subtile wytte he set great discorde bitwene the kyng and the quene, so that the kyng wold nat se the quene, nor come in her company; the whiche discord endured a long space. Than was it shewed to the quene secretly, and to the erle of Cane, that withoute they toke good hede to them selfe, they were lykely to be distroyed; for sir Hewe Spencer was about to purchase moch trouble to theym. Than the quene secretly dyd purvey to go in to Fraunce, and toke her way as on pylgrymage to saynt Thomas of Canterbury, and so to Wynchelsey; and in the nyght went into a shyp that was redy for her, and her yong sonne Edward with her, and the erle of Cane and sir Roger Mortymer; and in a nother ship they had put all theyr purveyaunce, and had wynde at wyll, and the next mornyng they arryved in the havyn of Bolayn.

[1] *Kent.*

CAP. VII

Howe the quene of Ingland went and complayned her to the kyng of Fraunce, her brother, of syr Hewe Spencer.

WHAN quene Isabell was arryved at Bolayn, and her sonne with her, and the erle of Cane, the capytayns and abbot of the towne came agaynst her, and joyously receved her and her company into the abbey, and ther she aboode two dayes: than she

departed, and rode so long by her journeys, that she arryved at Paris. Than kyng Charles her brother, who was enfourmed of her comyng, sent to mete her divers of the greattest lordes of his realme, as the lorde syr Robert de Artoys, the lorde of Crucy, the lorde of Sully, the lorde of Roy, and dyvers other, who honorably dyd receve her, and brought her in to the cite of Paris to the kyng her brother. And whan the kyng sawe his suster, whom he had nat sene long before, as she shuld have entred into his chambre, he mette her, and toke her in his armes, and kyst her, and sayd, Ye be welcome feyre suster with my feyre nephewe your sonne, and toke them by the handis, and led them forth. The quene, who had no great joy at her harte, but that she was so nere to the kyng her brother, she wold have kneled downe two or three tymes at the feet of the kyng, but the kyng wold nat suffre her, but held her styl by the right hande, demaunding right swetely of her astate and besynesse. And she answered him ryght sagely, and lamentably recounted to hym all the felonyes and injuries done to her by syr Hewe Spencer, and requyred hym of his ayde and comfort. Whan the noble kyng Charles of Fraunce had harde his suster's lamentation, who wepyngly had shewed hym all her nede and besynesse, he sayd to her, Fayre suster appease your selfe, for by the faith I owe to God and to saynt Denyce, I shall right well purvey for you some remedy. The quene than kneled downed, whether the kyng wold or nat, and sayd, My ryght dere lord and fayre brother, I pray God reward you. The kyng than toke her in his armes, and led her into an other chambre, the whiche was apparayled for her, and for the yong Edwarde her sonne, and so departed fro her, and caused at his costis and chargis all thyngis to be delyvered that was behovefull for her and for her sonne. After it was nat long, but that for this occasion Charles, kyng of Fraunce, assembled together many great lordes and barons of the realme of Fraunce, to have theyr counsell and good advise howe they shuld ordeyne for the nede and besynes of his suster quene of Ingland. Than it was counsailed to the kyng, that he shuld let the quene his suster to purchas for her selfe frendis where as she wold in the realme of Fraunce, or in any other place, and hym

CAP. VII

Howe the quene of Ingland went and complayned of syr Hewe Spencer.

CAP. VII
Howe the quene of Ingland went and complayned of syr Hewe Spencer.

selfe to fayne and be not knowen therof; for they sayd to move warre with the kyng of Ingland, and to bryng his owne realme into hatred, it were nothyng apertenaunt nor profitable to hym, nor to his realme. But they concluded, that conveniently he might ayde her with golde and sylver, for that is the metall wherby love is attaygned both of gentylemen and of pore souldiours. And to this counsell and advice accorded the kynge, and caused this to be shewed to the quene prively by sir Robert Dartoys, who as than was one of the greatteste lordis of all Fraunce.

CAP. VIII

Howe that syr Hewe Spencer purchased, that the quene Isabell was banysshed out of Fraunce.

NOWE let us speke somewhat of sir Hewe Spencer. Whan he sawe that he hadde drawen the kyng of Ingland so moche to his wyll, that he coud desire nothyng of hym but it was graunted, he caused many noble men and other to be put to deth without justice or lawe, bicause he held them suspect to be ageynst hym; and by his pride he dyd so many marveylles, that the barons that were left alyve in the land coude nat beare nor suffre it any lenger; but they besought and requyred eche other among them selfe to be of a peasable accorde, and caused it secretly to be knowen to the quene theyr lady, who hadde ben as then at Parys the space of three yere, certifiyng her by wryttyng, that if she coulde fynd the meanes to have any companye of men of armes, if it were but to the nombre of a thousand, and to bryng her son and heyre with her into Inglande; that than they wolde all drawe to her, and abeye her and her sonne Edward, as they were bounde to do of duety. These letters, thus sent secretly to her out of Ingland, she shewed them to kyng Charles her brother, who answered her, and sayde, Fayre suster, God be your ayde, your besynesse shall avayle moche the better. Take of my men and subjectis to the nombre that your frendes have wrytten you for, and I consent wel to this voyage. I shall

cause to be delyvered unto you golde and sylver as moche as shall suffyce you. And in this mater the quene had done so moche, what with her prayer, gyftes, and promysses, that many great lordis and yong knyghtis were of her accorde, as to bryng her with great strength agayne into Inglande. Than the quene, as secretly as she coulde, she ordeyned for her voyage, and made her purveyaunce; but she coude nat do it so secretly, but sir Hewe Spencer had knowledge therof. Than he thought to wynne and withdrawe the kyng of Fraunce fro her by great gyftes, and so sent secret messangers into Fraunce with great plentye of golde and sylver and ryche jewelles, and specially to the kyng, and his prive counsell, and dyd so moche, that in shorte space, the kyng of Fraunce and all his prive counselle were as colde to helpe the quene in her voyage, as they had before great desyre to do hit. And the kynge brake all that voyage, and defended every parsone in his realme, on payne of banysshyng the same, that none shulde be so hardy to go with the quene to brynge her agayne into Ingland. And yet the sayd sir Hew Spencer advysed hym of more malyce, and bethought hym howe he myght gette agayne the quene into Inglande, to be under the kyngis daunger and his. Than he caused the kyng to writte to the holy father the pope effectuously, desyryng him that he wolde sende and wrytte to the kyng of Fraunce, that he shulde sende the quene his wyfe agayne into Inglande; for he wyll acquite hym selfe to God and the worlde, and that it was nat his faute, that she departed fro hym; for he wolde nothyng to her but all love and good faith, suche as he ought to holde in mariage. Also ther were lyke letters wrytten to the cardynals, dyvysed by many subtile wayes, the which all maye nat be wrytten here.

CAP. VIII

Howe that syr Hewe Spencer purchased, that the quene Isabell was banysshed out of Fraunce.

Also he sent golde and sylver great plenty to dyverse cardynalles and prelates, suche as were moost nereste and secrettest with the pope, and ryght sage and able ambassadours were sente on this message; and they ladde the pope in suche wyse by theyr gyftes and subtyle wayes, that he wrote to the kynge of Fraunce, that on peyne of cursyng, he shulde sende his suster Isabell into Ingland to the kyng her housbande.

CAP. VIII

Howe that syr Hewe Spencer purchased, that the quene Isabell was banysshed out of Fraunce.

These letters were brought to the kyng of Fraunce by the busshoppe of Xainctes, whom the pope sent in that legation. And whan the kyng had redde the letters, he caused them to be shewed to the quene his suster, whom he had nat seen of long space before, commaunding her hastely to avoyde his realme, or els he wolde cause her to avoyde with shame.

CAP. IX

Howe that quene Isabell departed fro Fraunce, and entred in to the Empyre.

WHAN the quene hard thys tidyngis she knewe nat what to say nor what advyce to take; for as than the barons of the realme of Fraunce were withdrawen from her by the commaundement of the kyng of Fraunce; and so she had no comfort nor succoure, but all onely of her dere cosyn, sir Robert de Artoys, for he secretly dyd counsaile and comfort her as moche as he myght, for otherwyse he durst nat, for the kyng hadde defended hym. But he knew well that the quene was chased out of Ingland, and also out of Fraunce, for evyll wyll and by envy, whiche greved hym greatly. Thus was sir Robert de Artoyes at the quenes commaundement; but he durste nat speke nor be knowen therof, for he had hard the kyng say and swere, that who so ever spake to hym for the quene his suster shulde leese his landis and be banysshed the realme; and he knewe secretly howe the kyng was in mynde and will to make his suster to be taken, and Edward her sonne, and the erle of Cane,[1] and syr Roger Mortymer, and to put them all in the handis of the kyng and of syr Hewe Spencer. Wherfore he came on a nyght, and declared all this to the quene, and advysed her of the parell that she was in. Than the quene was greatly abasshed, and required hym all wepyng of his good counsaile. Than he sayd, Madame, I counsaile you that ye depart and go in to the empire, where as ther be many great lordes, who may ryght well ayde you, and specially the erle Guillyam of Heynault, and syr John of Heynaulte his

[1] *Kent.*

brother. These two are great lordes and wise men, true, drad, and redoubted of their ennemies. Than the quene caused to be made redy all her purveyaunce, and payd for every thyng as secretly as she myght; and so she and her sonne, the erle of Cane,[1] and all her company departed from Paris, and rode to warde Heynaulte, and so long she rode that she came to Cambresys; and whan she knewe she was in the Empyre, she was better assured than she was before; and so passed through Cambresys and entred into Ostrenaunt,[2] in Heynaulte, and lodged at Ambreticourt, in a knightes house, who was called syr Dambyrcourte,[3] who receyved her ryght joyously in the best maner to his power, in so moche that afterwarde the quene of Inglande and her sonne hadde with them into Inglande for ever the knyght and his wyfe and all his children, and avaunced them in dyvers maners.

CAP. IX
Howe that quene Isabell departed fro Fraunce.

[1] *Kent.*
[2] *L'Ostrevant.*
[3] *Sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt.*

The comyng thus of the quene of Inglande and of her sonne and heyre into the countrey of Heynaulte was anon well knowen in the howse of the good erle of Heynault, who as than was at Valenciennes; and syr John of Heynault was certified of the tyme whan the quene arryved at the place of syr Dambrecourte,[3] the whiche syr John was brother to the sayde erle Guillam; and as he that was yong and lusty, desiryng all honoure, mounted on his horse, and departed with a small company fro Valenciennes, and came the same nyght to Ambreticourt, and dyd to the quene all honour and reverence that he coulde devyse. The quene, who was ryght sorowfull, beganne to declare (complaynyng to hym ryght pyteously) her dolours; wherof the sayd syr John had great pitie, so that the water dashte in his yen, and sayd certaynly, Fayre lady, beholde me here your owne knyght, who shall nat fayle you to dye in the quarell. I shall do the best of my power to conducte you and my lorde your sonne, and helpe to brynge you into your astatis in Inglande by the grace of God, and with the helpe of your frendis in that parties: and I and suche other as I can desyre shall put our lyves and goodes in adventure for your sake, and shall gette men of warre sufficient, if God be pleased, without the daunger of the kyng of Fraunce your brother. Than the quene wold have kneled downe for

CAP. IX
Howe that quene Isabell departed fro Fraunce.

great joye that she had, and for the good wyll he offred her; but this noble knyght toke her uppe quyckly in his armes and sayde, By the grace of God the noble quene of Ingland shall nat knele to me: but, madame, recomforte your selfe and all your company, for I shall kepe you faithfull promyse; and ye shall go se the erle my brother, and the countesse his wyfe, and all theyr fayre children, who shall receyve you with great joye, for so I harde theym reporte they wold do. Than the quene sayd, Syr, I fynde in you more love and comforte than in all the worlde; and for this that ye say and affirme me I thanke you a thousande tymes, and yf ye wyll do this ye have promised, in all courtesy and honoure, I and my sonne shall be to you for ever bounde, and wyll put all the realme of Ingland in your abandon; for it is right that it so shuld be. And after these wordes, whan they were this accorded, syr John of Heynaulte toke leve of the quene for that nyght, and went to Denaing, and laye in the abbeye; and in the mornynge after masse he lepte on his horse, and came agayn to the quene, who receyved hym with great joye; by that tyme she had dynedde, and was redy to mounte on her horse to departe with hym; and so the quene departed from the castell of Dambretycourte, and toke leve of the knyght and of the lady, and thanked them for theyr good chere that they hadde made her, and sayd that she trusted oones to se the tyme that she or her sonne shulde well remembre theyr courtesye.

Thus departed the quene in the company of the sayd syr John lorde Beamont, who ryght joyously dyd conducte her to Valencyennes; and agaynst her came many of the burgesses of the towne, and receyved her right humbly. Thus was she brought before the erle Guyllaume of Heynaulte, who receyved her with great joye, and in lyke wyse so dyd the countesse his wyfe, and feasted her ryght nobly. And as than this erle hadde foure fayre doughters, Margaret, Philyppe, Jane, and Isabell; amonge whome the yong Edwarde sette moost his love and company on Phylyppe; and also the yong lady in al honour was more conversaunt with hym than any of her susters. Thus the quene Isabell abode at Valencyennes by the space of eight daies with the

good erle and with the countess Jane de Valoys. In the meane tyme the quene aparailed for her needis and besynesse, and the said syr John wrote letters ryght effectuously unto knyghtis and suche companyons as he trusted best in all Heynaulte, in Brabant, and in Behaigne,[1] and prayed them for all amyties, that was bitwene theym, that they wolde goo with hym in this entreprise in to Inglande: and so there were great plentye what of one countrey and other, that were content to go with hym, for his love. But this sayd syr John of Heynaulte was greatly reproved and counsailed the contrarye, bothe of the Erle his brother, and of the chief of the counsaile of the countrey, bycause it semed to theym, that the entreprise was ryght hygh and parillouse, seynge the great discordis and great hates that as than was bytwene the barones of Inglande amonge them selfe; and also consyderyng, that these Inglisshemen most commonly have ever great envy at straungers. Therfore they doubted, that the sayd syr John of Heynaulte, and his company shulde nat retourne agayne with honour. But howe so ever they blamed or counsailed hym, the gentle knyght wolde never chaunge his purpose, but sayd he hadde but one dethe to dye, the whiche was in the will of God: and also sayd, that all knyghtes ought to ayd to theyr powers all ladyes and damozels chased out of theyr owne countreys, beyng without counsaile or comfort.

CAP. IX

Howe that quene Isabell departed fro Fraunce.

[1] *Bohemia.*

CAP. X

Howe that the quene Isabell arryved in Inglande with syr John of Heynaulte in her company.

THYS was syr John of Heynaulte moved in his courage and made his assembly and prayed the Henaus[2] to be redy at Hale, and the Brabances at Bredas, and the Hollenders to be at Durdryghte, at a day lymytted. Than the quene of Inglande took leve of the erle of Heynaulte, and of the countesse, and thanked theym greatly of their honour, feast, and good chere, that

[2] *Haynalters.*

CAP. X

Howe that the quene Isabell arryved in Inglande with syr John of Heynaulte.

they hadde made her, kyssynge theym at her departynge. Thus this lady departed, and her sonne, and all her compayny, with syr John of Heynaulte, who with great peyne gatte leve of his brother: sayng to hym, My lorde and brother, I am yong, and thynke that God hath pourveyed for me this entrepryse for myn advauncement. I beleve and thynke verely, that wrongfully and synfully this lady hath been chased out of Inglande, and also her sonne: hit is almes and glory to God and to the worlde to comforte and helpe them that be comfortlesse and specyally so hyghe, and so noble a lady as this is, who is doughter to a kyng and descendyd of a royall kyng: we be of her bloodde and she of oures. I hadde rather renounce and forsake all that I have, and go serve God over the see, and never to retourne into this countrey, rather than this good lady shulde have departed from us withowte comforte and helpe. Therfore dere brother, suffre me to go with your good wyll, wherin ye shall do nobly, and I shall humbly thanke you therof, and the better therby I shall accomplysshe all the voyage. And whan the good Erle of Heynaulte hadde well harde his brother, and parceved the great desyre that he hadde to his entrepryse, and sawe welle hyt myght tourne hym and his heyres to great honoure here after; sayd to hym. My fayre brother, God forbyd that your good purpose shulde be broken or lette: therfore in the name of God I gyve you leve, and kyste hym, streynynge hym by the hande, in sygne of great love.

Thus he departed, and roode the same nyghte to Mounce[1] in Heynnaulte with the Quene of Inglande. What shulde I make long processe. They dyd so moche by theyre Journeys, that they came to Durdryght in Holande, wher as theyr specyall assembly was made. And there they purveyed for shyppys great and small, suche as they coulde get, and shypped their horses and harneys and purveyaunce, and so commaunded themselfe into the kepyng of God and toke theyr passage by see. In that company there were of knyghtis and lordis. Fyrst syr John of Heynault lord Beamond, syr Henry Dantoing, syr Michell de Ligne, the lorde of Gommegines, syr Parceval de Semerics, syr Robert de Bailleul, syr Sanxes de Boussoit, the lorde of Vertaing, the

[1] *Mons.*

CAP. X

Howe that the quene Isabell arryved in Inglande with syr John of Heynaulte.

lorde of Pocelles, the lord Villers, the lord of Heyn, the lorde of Sars, the lord of Boysiers, the lorde of Dambretycourte, the lorde of Sarmuell[1] and syr Oulpharte of Gustelle, and divers other knyghtis and squyers, all in great desyre to serve theyr maister; and whan they were all departed fro the havyn of Durdryght it was a fayre flete as for the quantite and well ordred, the season was fayre, and clere, and ryght temperate, and at theyr departynge with the fyrste flodde they came before the Digues[2] of Holande, and the next day they drewe uppe theyr sayles, and toke theyr waye in costynge Zelande, and theyr ententis were to have taken lande at Dongport,[3] but they coulde nat, for a tempeste toke them in the see, that put them so farre out of theyr course that they wist nat of two dayes wher they were: of the whiche God dyd them great grace. For if they had takyn lande at the porte where as they had thought, they had ben all loste, for they had fallen in the handis of theyre ennemyes, who knew well of theyr commyng, and aboode them there, to have putte theym all to dethe. So hit was that about the ende of two dayes, the tempest seased, and the maryners parceyved lande in Inglande, and drewe to that parte right joyously, and there toke lande on the sandes, withoute any ryght havyn or porte, at Harwiche, as the Inglysshe cronicle sayth, the xxiiii. daye of Septembre, the yere of our lorde M.CCC.xxvi; and so aboode on the sandes thre dayes with lytle purveyaunce of vitaylle and unshypped theyr horses and harneys, nor they wist nat in what parte of Inglande they were in: other in the power of theyr frendis, or in the power of theyr ennemies. On the iiii. day they toke forth theyr way in the adventure of God, and of saynt George, as suche people as hadde suffred great disease of colde by nyght, and hunger, and great feare, whereof they were nat as than clene ryd. And so they rode forth by hylles and dales, on the oone syde and on the other, tyll at the laste they founde vyllages, and a great abbeye of blacke monkes the whiche is called saint Hamon, wher as they iii. dayes refresshed themselfe.

[1] *Estourmel.*

[2] *Dykes.*

[3] *ung port.*

CAP. XI

Howe the quene of Inglande beseged the kyng her husbande in the towne of Bristowe.

AND than this tidynge spred about the realme so moche that at the last it came to the knowledge of the lordes, by whom the quene was called agayn into Ingland: and they apparailed them in all hast to come to Edwarde her son, whom they wolde have to theyr soveraigne lorde. And the fyrste that came and gave them moost comforte was Henry Erle of Lancastre with the wrye neck, called Torte colle, who was brother to Thomas erle of Lancastre beheeddyd, as ye have harde here before, who was a good knyght, and greatly recommended, as ye shall here after in this hystorye. Thys Erle Henry came to the quene with great companye of men of warre, and after hym came from one parte and other, erles, barones, knyghtys, and squiers with so moche people that they thought them clene out of parelles, and alwayes encreased theyr power as they went forewarde. Than they toke counsell among them, that they shulde ryde streyght to the towne of Brystowe, where as the kyng was, and with hym the Spencers. The whiche was a good towne, and a stronge, and well closed, standyng on a good port of the see and a stronge castell, the see bettyng rounde about it. And therin was the kyng and syr Hewe Spencer the elder, who was about xC. of age and syr Hewe Spencer his sonne, who was chieffe governour of the kyng, and counsayled hym in all his evyll dedis. Also there was the Erle of Arundell, who had wedded the doughter of syr Hewe Spencer, and diverse other knyghtis and squiers, repayryng about the kyngis courte. Than the quene and all her companye, lordes of Heynaulte, erles, and barons, and all other Inglisshemen, toke the right way to the said towne of Bristowe, and in every towne where as they entred, they were receyved with great feast and honour, and alwayes theyr people encreased, and so longe they rode by theyr journeys that they arryved at Brystowe, and besygedde the towne rounde

CAP. XI

Howe the quene of Inglande beseged Bristowe.

about as nere as they myght; and the kyng, and syr Hewe Spencer the yonger, helde theym in the castelle, and the olde syre Hewe Spencer, and the erle of Arundell, helde them in the town. And whan the people of the towne sawe the greate power that the Quene was of (for allmoost all Inglande was of her accorde) and perceved what parell and daunger evydentely they were in, they toke counsell amonge theymselfe, and determyned, that they wolde yelde uppe the towne to the quene, so that theyre lyves and gooddys myghte be sayvd. And soo they sende, to treate with the quene and her counsell, in this mattyer. But the quene nor her counselle wolde nat agree therto without she myght do with syr Hewe Spencer and with the erle of Arundell what it pleased her.

Whan the people of the towne sawe they coulde have no peace otherwise, nor save the towne, nor theyr gooddes, nor theyr lyves, in that distresse they accorded to the quene, and opened the gates, so that the quene and syr John of Heynaulte and all her barons, knyghtis, and squyers entred into the towne, and toke theyr lodgyngys within, as many as myght, and the residewe without. Than sir Hewe Spencer and the Erle of Arundel were taken, and brought before the quene to do her pleasure with them. Than there was brought to the quene her owne chyldren, John her sonne, and her two doughters, the whiche were found ther in the kepyng of the sayd syr Hewe Spencer, wherof the quene had great joye, for she had nat sene theym longe before. Than the kyng myght have great sorowe, and sir Hewe Spencer the yonger, who were fast inclosed in the stronge castell, and the moost part of all the realme turned to the quenes parte, and to Edward her eldest sonne.

CAP. XII

Howe that syr Hewe Spencer thelder and the erle of Arundell were judged to dethe.

WHAN the quene, and her barons, and all her company were lodged at theyr ease, than they beseged the castell as nere as they myght. The quene caused syr Hewe Spencer the elder and therle of Arundell to be brought forth before Edward her sonne, and all the barons that were there present. And sayde howe that she, and her sonne, shulde take ryght and lawe on them, accordyng to theyr desertis. Than syr Hewe Spencer sayd: Madame God be to you a good judge, and gyve you good judgement, and if we can nat have it in this world, I praye God we maye have hit in a nother. Than stepte forth syr Thomas Wage[1] a good knyght, and marshall of the hoste, and ther openly he recounted theyr dedis in wrytynge. And than tourned hym to a nother auncient knyght, to the entent that he shuld bryng hym on that case fauty, and to declare what shuld be done with suche parsones, and what judgement they shulde have for suche causes. Than the sayd knyght counsailed with other barons and knyghtis, and so reported theyr opynions, the whiche was, how they had well deserved deth, for dyvers horryble dedis, the whiche they have commysed, for all the trespas rehersed before to justifie to be of trouth, wherfore they have deserved for the dyversyties of theyr trespaces, to have judgement in iii. dyvers maners: fyrst to be drawen, and after to be heedded, and than to be hanged on the jebet. This in lyke wyse as they were judged, so it was done, and executed before the castell of Brystowe, in the syght of the kyng, and of syr Hewe Spencer the yonger. This judgement was doone in the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.xxvi. on saynt Denys day in October. And after this execucion, the kyng and the yong Spencer, seyng theym selfe thus beseged in this myschiefe, and knewe no comfort that myght come to them, in a mornyng betymes, they two, with a smalle company, entred into a lytle vessell

[1] *Wake.*

behynde the castell, thynkyng to have fledde to the countrey of Walys. But they were xi. dayes in the shyppe, and enforced it to saile as moche as they myghte. But what so ever they dydde, the wynde was every daye so contrary to them, by the wyll of God, that every daye oones or twyse, they were ever brought agayn within a quarter of a myle to the same castell.

CAP. XII

Howe that syr Hewe Spencer thelder and the erle of Arundell were judged to dethe.

At the last it fortuned syr Henry Beamonde son to the vicount Beamond in Ingland, entred in to a barge, and certayne company with hym, and spyed this vessell, and rowed after hym so long, that the shyp, wherein the kyng was, coulde nat flee fast before them, but fynally they were over takyn, and so brought agayn to the towne of Bristow, and delyvered to the quene and her son, as prisoners. Thus it befel of this high and hardy entrepryse of syr John of Heynaulte, and his companye. For whan they departed and entred into theyr shyppes at Durdright they were but iii. C. men of armes. And thus by theyr help, and the lordes in Ingland, the quene Isabell conquered agayn all her astate and dignyte, and put unto execucion all her ennemyes, wherof all the moost parte of the realme were right joyouse, withoute it were a fewe parsones suche as were favourable to syr Hewe Spencer, and of his parte. And whan the kyng and sir Hewe Spencer were brought to Bristowe by the said sir Henry Beamonde, the kyng was than sent by the counsell of all the barons and knyghtis, to the strong castell of Barkely, and put under good kepyng and honest, and ther were ordeined people of astate aboute hym, suche as knewe ryght well what they ought to doo, but they were straytly commaunded, that they shulde in no wyse suffre hym to passe out of the castell. And syr Hewe Spencer was deliverd to syr Thomas Wage[1] marshall of the host. And after that the quene departed and al her host toward London, whiche was the chiefe cite of Ingland; And so ryd forth on theyr journeis, and syr Thomas Wage caused syr Hewe Spencer to be fast bound on the lest and lenest[2] hors of al the host, and caused hym to were on a tabarte, suche as traytours and theves were wont to were. And thus he was led in scorne, after the quenes rout, through out all the townes as they passed, with trumpes

[1] *Wake.*

[2] *best and leviest* P.

CAP. XII
Howe that syr Hewe Spencer thelder and the erle of Arundell were judged to dethe.

and canaryes, to do hym the greatter dispyte, tyll at the laste they came to the Cite of Herford,[1] wher as the quene was honorably receyved, with great solempnyte, and all her company, and ther she kept the feast of all sayntis with great royalte, for the love of her son, and straungers that were ther.

[1] *Hereford.*

CAP. XIII

Howe syr Hewe Spencer was put to his judgement.

WHAN this feast was done, than syr Hewe Spencer who was nothyng beloved was brought forth before the quene, and all the lordes and knyghtis, and ther before hym in wrytyng was rehersed all his dedis, ageynst the whiche he wold gyve no maner of answere. And so he was than judged by playn sentence.

Fyrst to be drawen on an hyrdell with trumpes and trumpettis through all the cite of Herford, and after, to be brought into the market place, where as all the people were assembled, and there to be tyed on hygh upon a ladder that every man myght se hym: and in the same place ther to be made a great fier, and ther his pryvy membres cut from hym, bycause they reputed hym as an heretyk, and sodomite,[1] and so to be brent in the fyre before his face: and than his hart to be drawen out of his body, and cast into the fyre, bycause he was a false traytour of hart, and that by hys traytours counsell and extorcion, the kyng had shamed his realme, and brought it to great myschief, for he had caused to be behedded the greattest lordes of his realme, by whom the realme ought to have been susteyned and defended: and he had so enduced the kyng, that he wolde nat se the quene his wyfe, nor Edwarde his eldest son, and caused hym to chace them out of the realme for fere of theyr lyves: and than his heed to be stryken of and sent to London. And accordyng to his judgement, he was executed. Than the quene and all her lordes toke theyr way toward London, and dyd so moche by theyr journeys, that they arryved at the Cite of London, and they of the cite with

[2] *so demed* P.

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Howe syr Hewe Spencer was put to his judgement.

great company mette them, and dyd to the quene, and to her sonne, great reverence, and to al theyr company, as they thought it best bestowed. And whan they had ben thus receyved and feasted the space of xv. dayes, the knyghtis straungers, and namely syr John of Heynaulte had great desyre to retourne agayn into theyr owne countres, for they thought they had well done theyr devour, and achyved great honour, and so toke theyr leve of the quene, and of the lordes of the realme, and the quene and the lordes requyred them to tary longer a lytle space to se what shuld be done with the kyng, who was in pryson, but the straungers had so great desyre to retourne into theyr owne countreys, that to praye theym the contrarye, avayled nat. And whan the quene and her counsell saw that, they yet desyred syr John of Heynaulte to tary tyll it was past Christmas, and to retaygne with hym suche of his company as pleased hym best. The gentle knyght wold nat leve to parfourme his service, but courtesly graunted the quene to tary as long as it pleased her, and caused to tary suche of his company as he coude get; that was but a fewe for the remnaunt wolde in no wyse tary, wherof he was displeased. Whan the quene and her counsell sawe that they wolde nat abyde for no prayers, than they made them great chere and feastis. And the quene made to be gyven to them plenty of golde and sylver for theyr costis and servicis, and dyd gyve great jewelles to eche of them, accordyng to theyr degrees, so as they all helde them selfe ryght well content. And over that they had sylver for theyr horses, suche as they wolde leve behynde theym; at theyre owne estymation, without any grudgyng. And thus syr John of Heynaulte aboode styll with a smalle company among the Englisshemen, who always dydde hym as moche honoure as they coude ymagyn, and to all his company. And in lyke wyse so dyd the ladyes and damozelles of the countre. For there were great plentye of countesses, and great ladyes gentle pucels, who were come thither to acompany the quene. For it seemed well to them, that the knyght syr John of Heynaulte had well deserved the chere and feast that they made hym.

CAP. XIIII

The coronacion of kyng Edward the thyrde.

AFTER that the most part of the company of Heynaulte were departed, and syr John Heynaulte lorde of Beamonde taryed, the quene gave leve to her people to departe, savynge a certayne noble knightis the whiche she kept styl about her and her sonne, to counsell them, and commaunded all them that departed, to be at London the next Christmas, for as than she was determyned to kepe open court, and all they promysed her so to do. And whan Christmas was come, she helde a great court. And thyther came dukes, erles, barons, knyghtis, and all the nobles of the realme, with prelates, and burgesses of good townes, and at this assemble it was advysed that the realme coud nat long endure without a heed and a chief lord. Than they put in wrytynge all the dedis of the kyng who was in prison, and all that he hadde done by evyll counsell, and all his usages, and evyll behavyngis, and how evyll he had governed his realme, the which was redde openly in playn audience, to thentent that the noble sagis of the realme might take therof good advyce, and to fall at acorde how the realme shuld be governed from thensforth; and whan all the cases and dedis that the kyng had done and consented to, and all his behavyng and usages were red, and wel understand, the barons and knyghtis and al the counsels of the realme, drew them aparte to counsell, and the most part of them accorded, and namely the great lordes and nobles, with the burgesses of the good townes, accordyng as they had hard say, and knew themselfe the most parte of his dedis. Wherfore they concluded that suche a man was nat worthy to be a kyng, nor to bere a crowne royall, nor to have the name of a kyng. But they all accorded that Edward his eldeste son who was ther present, and was ryghtful heyre, shuld be crowned kyng in stede of his father, so that he wold take good counsell, sage and true about hym, so that the realme from thensforth myght be better governed than it was before, and that

CAP. XIIII

The coronacion of kyng Edward the thyrde.

the olde kyng his father shuld be well and honestly kept as long as he lyved accordyng to his astate; and thus as it was agreed by all the nobles, so it was accomplysshed, and than was crowned with a crowne royall at the palaice of Westminster, beside London, the yong kyng Edward the iii. who in his dayes after was right fortunate and happy in armes. This coronacion was in the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.xxvi. on christymas day, and as than the yong kyng was about the age of xvi. and they held the fest tyl the convercion of saynt Paule folowyng: and in the mean tyme greatly was fested sir John of Heynaulte and all the princis and nobles of his countre, and was gyven to hym, and to his company, many ryche jewels. And so he and his company in great feast and solas both with lordis and ladyes taried tyll the xii. day. And than syr John of Heynaulte hard tydyngis, how that the kyng of Bayghan,[1] and the erle of Heynaulte his brother, and other great plenty of lordis of Fraunce, had ordeyned to be at Conde, at a great feast and turney that was there cryed. Than wold sir John of Heynaulte no longer abyde for no prayer, so great desire he had to be at the said tourney, and to se the erle his brother, and other lordis of hys countrey, and specially the ryght noble kyng in larges the gentyll Charles kyng of Bayghan. Whan the yong kyng Edward, and the quene his mother, and the barons, saw that he wold no longer tary, and that theyr request coude nat availe, they gave hym leve sore ageynst theyr wyls, and the kyng by the counsell of the quene his mother dyd gyve hym CCCC. markis sterlyngis of rent heritable, to hold of hym in fee, to be payed every yere in the towne of Bruges: and also dyd gyve to Philyp of Chastaulxe, his chef esquyer, and his soveraigne counsellour, C. marke of rent yerely, to be payed at the sayd place, and also delyvered hym moche money, to pay therwith the costis of hym, and of his company, tyl he come in to his owne countre, and caused hym to be conducted with many noble knyghtis to Dover, and ther delyvered hym all his passage free. And to the ladyes that were come into Ingland with the quene, and namely to the countesse of Garrennes, who was suster to the erle of Bare, and to dyverse other ladyes and damozels, ther were gyven many

[1] *Bohemia.*

CAP. XIIII

The coronacion of kyng Edward the thyrde.

feyre and ryche jewels at theyr departyng. And when syr John of Heynaulte was departed fro the yong kyng Edward, and all his company, and wer come to Dover, they entred encontynent into theyr shippes, to passe the see, to the entent to come be tymes to the sayd tourney, and ther went with hym xv. yong lusty knyghtis of Ingland to go to this tourney with hym, and to acqueynt them with the straunge lordis, and knyghtis that shuld be ther, and they had great honour of all the company that turneyd at that tyme at Conde.

CAP. XV

Howe that kyng Robert de Breux of Scotland defyed kyng Edward.

AFTER that syr John of Heynault was departed fro kyng Edward, he, and the quene his mother, governed the realme by the counselle of the Erle of Kent, uncle to the kyng, and by the counsell of syr Roger Mortymer, who had great landes in Ingland, to the summe of vii.C.li. of rent yerely. And they both were banisshed and chased out of Ingland with the quene as ye have hard before. Also they used moche after the counsell of syr Thomas Wage,[1] and by the advyse of other, who were reputed for the most sagest of the realme. How be it ther were some hadde envy therat, the which never dyed in Inglande, and also it reigneth and wyl reigne in dyvers other countres. Thus passed forth the wynter and the lent season tyll Easter, and than the kyng and the quene and all the realme was in good peace all this season. Than so it fortuned, that kyng Robert of Scotland, who had ben ryght hardy, and had suffered moche travaile agaynst Inglisshemen, and often tymes he had ben chased and discomfeted, in the tyme of kyng Edward the fyrst, graundfather to this yong kyng Edward the iii. he was as than become very olde, and auncient, and sicke (as it was sayd) of the great evyll and malady. Whan he knewe thadventures that was fallen in Ingland, howe that the olde kyng Edwarde

[1] *Wake.*

CAP. XV

Howe that kyng Robert de Breux of Scotland defyed kyng Edward.

the ii. was taken and deposed downe fro his regalley, and his crowne, and certayne of his counsellours behedded and put to distruction, as ye have hard here before, than he bethought hym that he wolde defye the yonge kyng Edward the iii. bicause he was yong, and that the barons of the realme were nat all of one accorde, as it was said; therfore he [thought] the better to spede in his purpose to conquere part of Ingland. And so about Easter in the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.xxvii. he sent his defyaunce to the yong kyng Edward the iii. and to all the realme, sendyng them worde, howe that he wolde entre into the realme of Ingland, and brenne before hym, as he had done before tyme, at suche seson as the discomfeture was at the castell of Estermelin,[1] where as the Inglisshmen receyved great dammage. Whan the kyng of Ingland and his counsell, perceyved that they were defyed, they caused it to be knowen over all the realme: and commaunded that all the nobles, and all other, shuld be redy appareled every man after his estate: and that they shulde be by Ascencion day next after, at the towne of Yorke, standyng northward. The kyng sent moche people before to kepe the fronters agaynst Scotland, and sent a great ambassade to sir John of Heynault, praying hym right effectuously that he wold helpe to socour, and to kepe company with hym, in his voiage agaynst the Scottis, and that he wolde be with hym at the Ascencion day nexte after, at Yorke, with suche company as he myght gette of men of warre, in those parties. Whan syr John of Heynaulte lorde of Beamonde hard the kyngis desyre, he sent streyght his letters and his messengers in every place, where as he thought to recover, or attaigne to have any company of men of warre, in Flaunders, in Heynaulte, in Brabant, and in other places, desyryng them that in theyr best apparell for the warre, they wolde mete hym at Wysant, for to go over the see with hym into Ingland. And all suche as he sent unto came to hym with a glad chere, and dyverse other that hard therof, in trust to attaigne to as moche honour, as they had, that were with hym in Ingland before at the other voiage. So that by that tyme the sayd lorde Beamonde was come to Wysant, ther was redy shyppes for hym and his company, brought out of Ingland. And

[1] *Stirling.*

CAP. XV

Howe that kyng Robert de Breux of Scotland defyed kyng Edward.

so they toke shyppyng and passed over the see, and arryved at Dover, and so than seased nat to ryde tyll they came within iii. dayes of Penthecoste to the towne of Yorke, wher as the kyng, and the quene his mother, and all his lordis were with great host, taryeng the comynge of sir John of Heynaulte, and had sent many before of theyr men of armes, archers and comen people of the good townes and villages, and as people resorted, they were caused to be loged ii. or iii. leges of, al about in the countre. And on a day thyther came sir John of Heynaulte and his company, who were ryght welcome and well receyved, both of the kyng, of the quene his mother, and of all other barons, and to them was delyvered the subbarbes of the cite, to lodge in. And to sir John of Heynaulte was delyvered an abbey of whyte monkes for hym and his howsold. Ther came with hym out of Heynaulte, the lorde of Angien,[1] who was called syr Gualtier, and sir Henry lorde Dantoing, and the lorde of Saignoles,[2] and sir Fastres de Rue, sir Robert de Bailleul, and sir Guilliam de Bailleul his brother, and the lorde of Havereth chasteleyne of Mons, syr Allarde de Brysnell,[3] syr Mychell de Ligne, syr John de Mentigni the yonger, and his brother, sir Sawse de Boussat, the lorde of Gommegines, syr Percyval de Severnes,[4] the lorde of Byaurien, and the lorde of Floien. Also of the countre of Flaunders, ther was syr Hector of Vilais, sir John de Rodes, syr Vauflart de Guistell, the lorde of Traces[5] sir Guyssuyn de la Muele; and dyverse came thither of the countrey of Brabant, as the lorde of Dufle, syr Tyrry of Vaucourt, syr Rasse de Gres, syr John de Cassebegne, syr John Pylestre, syr Guyllaum de Courterelles, the iii. bretherne de Harlebeque, syr Gualtier de Haultbergue, and dyvers other. And of Behaignons,[6] ther was syr John de Libeaux,[7] and sir Henry his brother, sir Henry de la Chapell, syr Hewe de Hay, syr John de Limies, syr Lambert de Pres, and sir Guilbert de Hers. And out of Cambresis and Artoys, ther were come certayn knyghtis of theyr owne good wylles to avaunce theyr bodyes, so that sir John of Heynaulte had well in his company v. C. men of armes well apparailed, and richely mounted. And after the feast of Penthecost came thyther, syr Guyllaume de Juliers, who was after duke of

[1] *Enghien.*
[2] *Fagnolle.*
[3] *Briffeuil.*
[4] *Semeries.*
[5] *Straten.*
[6] *Hesbegnons.*
[7] *Jean le Bel.*

Juliers after the dissease of his father, and sir Tyrry of Branberque,[1] who was after erle of Los, and with them a ryght fayre rowte, and all to kepe companye with the gentle knyght sir John of Heynaulte, lorde Beamont.

CAP. XV Howe that kyng Robert de Breux defyed kyng Edward.

[1] *Thierry of Heinsberg.*

CAP. XVI

The discencion that was bitwene the archers of Inglande and them of Heynaulte.

THE gentle kyng of Ingland, the better to fest these straunge lordes and all their company, helde a great courte on Trynite Sonday in the friers, wher as he and the quene his mother were lodged, kepynge theyr house eche of them apart. All this feast the kyng hadde well v. C. knyghtis, and xv. were new made. And the quene had well in her courte lx. ladyes and damozelles, who were there redy to make feast and chere to sir John of Heynaulte and to his companye. There myght have been seen great noblesse, [and] plenty of all maner of straunge vitaile. There were ladyes and damozelles freshly apparayled redy to have daunced, if they myght have leve. But incontynent after dyner, there began a great fraye bitwene some of the gromes and pages of the straungers, and of the archers of Inglande, who were lodged among them in the said subbarbis, and anon all the archers assembled them to gether with theyr bowes and drove the straungers home to theyr lodgyng, and the most part of the knyghtis and maisters of them were as then in the kyngis courte, but as soone as they harde tydynges of the fray, eche of them drewe to theyr owne lodgyng, in great hast suche as myght entre, and suche as coulde nat get in, were in great parell. For the archers who were to the nombre of iii. M. shotte faste theyr arowes, nat sparyng maisters nor varlettis. And it was thought and supposed that this fraye was begonne by some of the frendis of the Spencers, and of the erle of Arundels, who were put to deth before, by the aide and counsell of sir John of Heynaulte, as ye have harde before, as than paraventure thought to be somwhat revenged, and to

CAP. XVI

The discencion that was bitwene the archers of Inglande and them of Heynaulte.

set discorde in the hoost. And so the Inglysshemen, that were hostes to these straungers shoot fast their doores, and wyndowes, and wolde nat suffre theym to entre in to theyr lodgyngis: howbeit some gate in on the backe syde and quickly armed them, but they durst nat issue out into the strete for feare of the arowes.

Than the straungers brake out on the backe side, and brake downe pales and hedges of gardens, and drewe them into a certeyne playne place, and aboode their company, tyll at the last they were a C. and above of men of armes, and as many unharnest, suche as coulde nat get to theyr lodgyngis. And whan they were assembled together, they hasted them to go and succoure theyr compaignyons, who defended theyr lodgyngis in the great strete. And as they went forth they passed by the lodgyng of the lorde Denghyen, wher as there were great gatis both before and behynd, openyng into the great strete: and the archers of Ingland shot fersly at the howse, and ther were many of the Hainalters hurte: and the good knyght Fastre de Rue, and syr John Parcevall de Meries,[1] and syr Sanse de Boussac, these iii. coulde nat entre in to theyr lodgyngis to arme them, but they dyd as valiantly as though they had ben armed. They had great levers in their handis, the whiche they founde in a carpenters yarde, with the whiche they gave suche strokis that men durst nat aproche to them. They iii. bette downe that day, with suche few company as they had, mo than lx. For they were great and myghty knyghtis. Fynally the archers that were at the fraye, were discomfetted and put to chase, and there was deed in the place, well to the nombre of CCC. And it was said they were all of the busshopprike of Lyncoln. I trowe God dyd never gyve more grace and fortune to any people, than he dyd as than, to this gentle knyght, syr John of Heynaulte and to his companye. For these Inglisshe archers intended to none other thyng, but to murder and to robbe them, for all that they were come to serve the kyng in his besynesse. These straungers were never in so great parell, all the season that they lay, nor they were never after in surete, tyll they were agayne at Wysant, in theyr owne countre. For they were fallen in so great hate with all the archers of the ooste, that some of

[1] *Semeries.*

CAP. XVI

The discencion that was bitwene the archers of Inglande and them of Heynaulte.

the barones and knyghtis of Inglande shewed unto the lordes of Heynaulte, gyvyng them warnyng, that the archers and other of the comon people were alied to gether to the nombre of vi. M. to thentent to breynne or to kyll them in theyr lodgyngis, eyther by nyght, or by day. And so they lyved at a hard adventure, but eche of them promysed to helpe and ayde other, and to selle derely theyr lyves or they were slayne. So they made many fayre ordynaunces among theym selfe by good and great advyce: wherby they were fayne often tymes, to lye in theyr harneis by nyght, and in the daye to kepe theyr lodgyngis, and to have all their harneys redy and theyr horses sadled. Thus contynually they were faine to make watche by their constables in the feldes and high wayes about the courte, and to sende out scout watches a myle of, to se ever if any suche people were commyng to them warde, as they were enfourmed of, to the entent that if theyr scoutwatche hard any noyse, or movyng of people drawyng to the cite warde, than incontynent they shulde gyve them knowledge, wherby they myght the soner gader togyther, eche of them under their owne baner, in a certayn place, the whiche they had advysed for the same entent. And in this tribulacion they aboode in the sayd subbarbes, by the space of foure wekis, and in all that season, they durst nat go farr fro their harneis, nor fro theyr lodgyngis, savyng a certayn of the chief lordes among them, who went to the courte to se the kyng and his counsell, who made them right good chere. For if the said evyll adventure had nat ben, they had sojourned there in great ease, for the cite and the countrey about them was ryght plentifull. For al the tyme of vi. weekis that the kyng and the lordis of Inglande, and mo than lx. M. men of warre laye ther, the vitailes were never the derer, for ever they had a peny worthe for a peny, as well as other had before they cam ther, and ther was good wyne of Gascoyn, and of Angiew,[1] and of the Ryne, and plenti therof, with right good chepe, as well of pollen, as of other vitailes; and there was dayly brought before their lodgyngis hey, ootes, and litter, wherof they were well served for their horses, and at a metly price.

[1] *Aussois*, i.e. *Alsace*.

CAP. XVII

Here the hystory speketh of the maner of the Scottis, and howe they can warre.

AND whan they hadde sojourned iii. weekis after thys sayd fray, than they had knoweledge fro the kyng, by the Marshals of the ooste, that the next weeke every man shuld provyde for cartis and chairettis, tentis and pavylions to lye in the felde, and for all other necessaryes therto belongynge, to the entent to drawe towarde Scotlande. And whan every man was redy aparailed, the kyng and all his barones went out of the cite, and the first nyght they lodged vi. myle forwarde. And syr John of Heynault and his company were lodged alwayes as nere the kyng as myght be, to do hym the more honour, and also to thentent that the archers shulde have noo vauntage of hym nor of his companye. And there the kyng aboode ii. dayes and ii. nyghtes, taryeng for all them that were behynd, and to be well advysed that they lacked nothyng. And on the iii. daye they dislodged, and went forwarde tyll they came to the cite of Durham, a dayes journey within the countrey called Northumbrelande, the whiche at that tyme was a savage and a wylde countrey, full of desartis and mountaignes, and a ryght pore countrey of every thyng, saving of beastis: throughe the whiche there ronneth a ryver ful of flynt and great stones, called the water of Tyne. And on this ryver standeth the towne and castell of Carlyel, the whiche sometyme was kyng Arthurs, and helde his courte there often tymes. Also on that ryver is assysed the towne of Newe castell upon Tyne: in the whiche towne was redy the Marchall of Inglande, with a great company of men of armes, to kepe the countrey agaynst the Scottis; and at Carlyel was the lorde Huford[1] and the lorde Mowbray, who were governours there, to defende the Scottis the passage; for the Scottis coulde nat entre into Inglande, but they must passe this sayd ryver in one place or other. The Inglisshemen coulde here no tydyngis of the Scottis tyll they were come to the entre of the sayd countrey. The

[1] *Hereford.*

CAP. XVII

Here the hystory speketh of the maner of the Scottis.

Scottis were passed this ryver so prively, that they of Carlyel nor yet of Newe castell knew nothyng therof, for bitwene the sayd townes it was xxiiii. Englisshe myle. These Scottysshe men are right hardy, and sore travelyng in harneys and in warres; for whan they wyll entre into England, within a daye and a nyght, they wyll dryve theyr hole host xxiiii. myle, for they are all a horsbacke, without it be the traundals and laggers of the oost, who folow after, a foote. The knyghtis and squiers are well horsed, and the comon people and other, on litell hakeneys and geldyngis; and they carey with them no cartis, nor chariettis, for the diversities of the mountaignes that they must passe through, in the countrey of Northumbrelande. They take with them noo purveyaunce of brede nor wyne, for their usage and sobrenes is suche in tyme of warre, that they wyll passe in the journey a great long tyme, with flesshe halfe soden, without brede, and drynke of the ryver water without wyne: and they nother care for pottis nor pannis, for they seeth beastis in their owne skynnes. They are ever sure to fynde plenty of beastis in the countrey that they wyll passe throughe. Therfore they cary with them none other purveyaunce, but on their horse: bitwene the saddyll and the pannell, they trusse a brode plate of metall, and behynde the saddyl, they wyll have a lytle sacke full of ootemele, to the entent that whan they have eaten of the sodden flesshe, than they ley this plate on the fyre, and tempre a lytle of the ootemele: and whan the plate is hote, they cast of the thyn paste theron, and so make a lytle cake in maner of a crakenell, or bysket, and that they eate to comfort with all theyr stomakis. Wherfore it is no great merveile, though they make greatter journeys than other pepple do. And in this maner were the Scottis entred into the sayd countrey, and wasted and brent all about as they went, and toke great nombre of bestis. They were to the nombre of iiii. M. men of armes, knightis and squiers, mounted on good horses, and other x. M. men of warre were armed after their gyse, right hardy and firse, mounted on lytle hakeneys, the whiche were never tyed nor kept at hard meate, but lette go to pasture in the feldis and busshes. They had two good capitayns, for kyng Robert of Scotland, who in his dayes had ben hardy

CAP. XVII

Here the hystory speketh of the maner of the Scottis.

and prudent, was as than of great age, and sore greved with the great sickenes, but he hadde made one of his capitaynes, a gentle prince, and a valyant in armes, called the erle of Morrell,[1] beryng in his armes sylver three oreylles gowles, and the other was the lorde William[2] Duglas, who was reputed for the most hardy knyght, and greattest adventurer in al the realme of Scotland, and he bare azure a cheffe sylver. These two lordes were renomed as chief in all dedis of armes, and great prowesse in all Scotlande.

[1] *Moray.*

[2] *James.*

CAP. XVIII

Howe the kyng of Inglande made his first journey agaynst the Scottis.

WHAN the kyng of Ingland and his oste had sene and hard of the fyers that the Scottis had made in Inglande, incontynent was cryed alarme, and every man commaunded to dislodge, and folowe after the marshals baners. Than every man drewe to the felde redye apparailed to fyght. There was ordeyned thre great batels a foote, and to every batell ii. wyngis of v. C. men of armes, knyghtis and squiers: and xxx. M. other armed, and well aparailed: the one halfe on lytle hakeneys, and the other were men of the countre a fote, sent out of good townes at their wages; and xxiiii. M. archers a foote, besyde all the other raskall and folowers of the oste; and as these batels were thus ordred, so they avaunced foreward, well raynged, and in good order, and folowed the Scottis by the syth of the smoke that they made with burnyng, and thus they folowed all that day tyll it was nere nyght. Than the ost lodged them in a wodde by a lytle ryversyde, there to rest, and to abyde for theyr cariage and purveiauncis. And at that day the Scottis had brent and wasted, and pilled the countrey about, within v. myle of the Inglysshe oste: but the Inglisshmen coulde nat overtake them; and the next day in the mornyng all the oste armed theym, and displayed theyr baners on the feld, every man redy apparailed in his owne batell, and so avaunced, without dis-

CAP. XVIII

Howe the kyng of Inglande made his first journey agaynst the Scottis.

orderyng, all the day through mountaignes and valeys; but for all that they coulde never aproche nere to the Scottis, who went wastyng the countrey before them. There were suche marisshes and savage desertis, mountaignes and dales, that it was commaunded, on peyne of deth, that none of the ost shulde passe before the baners of the marshals. And whan it drewe towarde the nyght, the people, horse and cariage, and namely the men afoote, were so sore travailed, that they coulde nat endure to labour any forther that day. And whan the lordes sawe that theyr labour in folowyng the Scottis was in vayne, and also they perceved well, though the Scottis wold abyde them, yet they myght take theyr felde in suche a place, or on suche a hyll, that they coulde nat fyght with them, without it were to their great dammage and jeopardi: than was it commaunded in the kyngis name, by the marshals, that the oste shulde take theyr lodgyng for that nyght, and so to take counsell and advyse, what shulde be best to do the nexte daye. So the oste was lodged in a wodde by a river syde; and the kynge was lodged in a lytle poore abbey: his men of warre, horse and caryage were mervailously fortravailed. And whan every man had takyn his place to lodge ther al nyght, than the lordes drewe them aparte, to take counsaile howe they myght fyght with the Scottis, consideryng the countrey that they were in: for as farre as they coulde understande, the Scottis went ever forewardes, all about burnyng and wastyng the countrey, and parceyved well, howe they coulde nat in any wyse feyght with them among these mountaignes, without great parell or daunger, and they sawe well also they coulde nat overtake them; but it was thought that the Scottis must nedis passe agayne the river of Tyne homewarde; therfore it was determined by great advyce and counsaile, that all the oste shulde remove at mydnyght, and to make haste in the mornyng, to the entent to stoppe the passage of the ryver from the Scottis, wherby they shulde be advysed by force, eyther to fyght with them, or els to abyde styll in Inglande to theyr great daunger and losse. And to this conclusion all the oste was accorded, and so supped and lodged as well as they myght that nyght, and every man was warned to be redy, at the fyrst soundyng of

CAP. XVIII
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the trumpette; and at the secunde blaste, every man to arme hym without delaye; and at the thyrde, every man quyckely to mounte on theyr horses, and to drawe under theyr owne standard and baner; and every man to take with hym but one loffe of brede, and to trusse it behynde hym on his horse. It was also determined, that they shulde leave behynde theym all theyr loose harneys, and all maner of cariagis and purveyaunces: for they thought surely to feyght with the Scottis the next daye, what so ever daunger they were in, thynkyng to jeoparde, eyther to wyn, or to leese all. And thus it was ordeyned, and so it was accomplysshed: for about mydnyght every man was redy apparailed, fewe had slepte but lytle, and yet they had sore travaled the daye before. As great haste as they made, or they were well raunged in batell, the day began to appere. Than they avaunced forward in al hast, through mountaignes, valeys, and rokkes, and through many evyll passages, without any playn countrey. And on the hyest of these hylles, and on the playn of these valeys, there were mervaylouse great marshes and daungerous passages, that it was great mervaile that moche people hadde nat been lost, for they roode ever styll forward, and never taried one for another, for who so ever fel in any of these marshes, with moche peyne coulde gette any ayde to helpe theym out agayne; so that in dyverse places there were many lost, and specially horse and cariagis; and often tymes in the day there was cryed alarum, for it was said ever, that the formost company of their oste wer fyghtyng with their ennemies; so that the hyndermost went it had ben true: wherfore they hasted theym over rokkis, and stones and mountaygnes, with helme and sheld redy apparailed to fyght, with spere and swerde redy in hand, without tariyng for father, brother, or companyon. And whan they had thus ron forth often tymes in the day, the space of halfe a myle togyther towarde the crye, wenyng it had been theyr ennemyes, they were deceyved: for the crye ever arose by the reysyng of hartis, hyndis, and other savage beastis, that were seen by them in the forewarde, after the whiche beastis they made such showtyng and criyng, that they that came after, went they had ben a fyghtyng with theyr ennemies. Thus rode forthe all that

daye, the yonge kyng of Inglande, by mountaignes and desartis, without fynding any hygh way, towne, or village. And whan it was ageynst nyght, they came to the ryver of Tyne, to the same place where as the Scottis hadde passed over in to Inglande, wenyng to them, that they must nedis repasse agayne the same waye. Than the kyng of Inglande and his oste passed over the same river, with suche gydis as he had, with moche peyne and travaile, for the passage was full of great stones. And whan they were over, they lodged theym that nyght by the ryver syde; and by that tyme the son was goon to reste, and there was but fewe among them that had other axe or hoke, or any instrument to cutte downe any woodde to make their lodgyngis withal; and there were many that had loste there owne company, and wist nat where they were. Some of the footemen were farre behynde, and wyst nat well what way to take: but suche as knewe beste the country, sayd playnly, they hadde rydden the same daye xxiiii. Englysshe myles: for they roode as faste as they might without any rest, but at suche passages as they coulde nat chese; all this nyght they laye by this ryver syde, styll in theyr harneys, holdynge theyr horses by theyr raynes in theyr handis, for they wyst nat wherunto to tye them; thus theyr horses dyd eate no meate of all that nyght nor day before; they had nother ootes nor[1] forage for them: nor the people of the oste had no sustenaunce of all that day nor nyght, but every man his loffe that he hadde caryed behynde hym, the whiche was sore wette with the swette of the horses: nor they dranke none other drynke but the water of the ryver, withowte it were some of the lordis that had caryed botels with them: nor they had no fyer nor lyght, for they had nothyng to make lyght withall, without it were some of the lordes that had torches brought with them. In this great trouble and daunger they passed all that nyght: their armour still on their backis, their horses redy sadled. And whan the day began to appere, the whiche was greatly desired of all the hole oste, they trusted than to fynde some redresse for themselfe and for their horses, or els to fyght with theyr ennemies, the whiche they greatly desyred, to thentent to be delivered out of the great travaile and peyne that they had endured; and all

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[1] *for* P.

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that day it rayned so faste that the ryver and passage was waxen great, and rysen so high, that or it were noone, ther myght none passe the passages agayn; wherfore they could nat sende to know where as they were, nor where to have any forage or lytter for theyr horses, nor brede nor drynke for their owne sustinauncis: but so all that nyght they were fayne to fast, nor theyr horses had nothyng but leves of trees and herbes: they cut downe bowes of trees with theyr swerdis to tye withall their horses, and to make them selfe lodges. And about noone some poore folkis of the countrey were founde, and they said howe they were as than xiiii. myle from Newcastell upon Tyne, and xi. myle from Carlyle, and that there was no towne nerer to them, wherin they might fynde any thyng to do theym ease withall. And whan this was shewed to the kyng, and to the lordes of his counsell, incontinent were sent thither horses and sompters, to fetche thens some purveyance; and there was a crye in the kyngis name made in the towne of Newcastell, that who so ever wolde bryng brede, or wyne, or any other vitaile, shulde be payd therfore incontinent at a good price, and that they shulde be conducted to the oste in save garde: for it was published openly that the kyng nor his oste wolde nat departe from the place that they were in, tyll they had some tydyngis where their ennemies were become. And the next day by noone, suche as had ben sent for vitaile, returned agayn to the oste, with suche purveyauncis as they coulde gette, and that was nat over moche, and with them came other folkis of the countrey, with lytle nagges, charged with brede evyll bakyn, in panyers, and smalle pere wyne in barels, and other vitaile to sel in the oste, wherby great part of the oste were well refresshed and eased. And thus they continued day by day, the space of viii. dayes, abidyng every day the retournyng agayn of the Scottis, who knew no more where the Englissh oste lay, than they knewe where they wer, so eche of ther were ignorant of other. Thus iii. dayes and iii. nyghtis, they were in maner withowte brede, wyne, candel, or lyght, foder, or forage, or any maner of purveyaunce, other for horse or man: and after the space of iiii. dayes, a loffe of brede was solde for vi. d. the whiche was worthe but i. d., and a gallon of wyne for vi. grootis, that

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was worth but vi. d. And yet for all that, there was suche rage of famin, that eche toke vitailes out of others handis, wherby there rose divers batels and stryffes bitwene sondry companyons; and yet beside all these mischieffis it never seased to rayne all the hoole weeke, wherby theyre saddels, pannels, and countresyngles were all rottyn and broken, and most part of their horses hurt on their backs: nor they had nat wherwith to shoo them, that were unshodde, nor they had nothyng to cover them selfe withall, fro the rayne and colde, but grene busshes, and their armour; nor they had nothyng to make fyre withal, but grene bowes, the whiche wolde nat burne bicause of the rayne. In this great mischief, they were all the weeke, without heryng of any worde of the Scottis, upon trust they shulde repasse agayn into theyr owne countreis, the same way, or nere ther about: wherby great noyse and murmour began to ryse in the oste, for some said, and layd it to others charge, that by theyr counsaile the kyng, and all they were brought in to that daunger, and that they had done it to betraye the kyng and all his ooste. Wherfore it was ordeyned by the kyng and by his counsaile, that the nexte mornyng they shulde remove the ooste, and repasse agayne the ryver, about vii. myle thens, wher as they myght passe more at their ease. Than was it cried through out the oste, that every man shulde be redy apparailed to remove, the nexte day by times; also there was a crye made, that who so ever coulde bryng to the kyng certayne knowledge where the Scottis were, he that brought fyrst tydyngis therof, shulde have for his labour a C. li. lande to hym, and to his heires for ever, and to be made a knyght of the kyngis hande.

Whan this crye was made in the oste, divers Englisshe knyghtis and squiers, to the nombre of xv. or xvi. for covetyse of wynnyng of this promyse, they passed the ryver in great parell, and rode forth throughe the mountaignes, and departed eche one from other, takyng their adventure. The next mornyng the oste dislodged, and rode fayre and easely all the daye, for they were but evyll apparailed, and dyd so moche that they repassed agayn the ryver, with moche payn and travaile, for the water was depe, bicause of the rayn that had fallen, wherfore many dyd swym, and

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some were drowned. And whan they were al over, than they lodged the oste, and ther they founde some forage, medowes and feldis, about a lytle village, the whiche the Scottis had brent whan they past that way: and the nexte daye they departed fro thens, and paste over hyls and dales all day tyll it was noone, and than they founde some villages brent by the Scottis, and there about was some champyon countrey, with corne and medowes, and so that nyght the ost lodged ther. Agayn the iii. day they rode forth, so that the most parte of the oste wist nat whiche way, for they knewe nat the countrey, nor they coulde here no tydyngis of the Scottis. And agayn the iiii. day they rode forth in lyke maner, tyl it was about the houre of iii. and there came a squyer fast rydyng toward the kyng, and said; And it like your grace, I have brought you parfit tydyngis of the Scottis your ennemies: surely they be within iii. myle of you, lodged on a great mountaine abidyng ther for you, and ther they have ben all this viii. dayes, nor they knewe no more tidyngis of you, than ye dyd of them: sir, this that I shew you is of trouth, for I aproched so nere to them, that I was takyn prisoner, and brought before the lordes of their oste, and there I shewed them tydyngis of you, and how that ye seke for them, to thentent to have batell: and the lordes dyd quyt me my raunsom and prison, whan I had shewed them howe our grace had promised a C. li. sterlyng of rent to hym, that brought fyrst tydyngys of them to you, and they made me to promise that I shuld nat rest, tyll I had shewed you thys tydyngys, for they sayd they had as great desyre to fyght with you, as ye had with theym: and ther shall ye fynde them without faulte. And as soone as the kyng had harde this tidynges, he assembled all his ooste in a fayre medowe to pasture theyr horses: and besidis ther was lytle abbey the whiche was all brent, called in the dayes of kyng Arthur, le Blanche lande. Ther the kyng confessed hym, and every man made hym redy. The kyng caused many masses to be song, to howsell all suche as had devotion therto; and incontynent he assigned a C. li. sterlyng of rent to the squier that had brought hym tidyngis of the Scottis, accordyng to his promyse, and made hym knyght his owne handis, before all the oste. And

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whan they had well rested them, and takyn repaste, than the trompet sounded to horse, and every man mounted, and the baners and standers folowed thys new made knyght, every batell by it selfe in good order, through mountaignes and dales, raynged as well as they myght, ever redy apparailed to fyght: and they roode, and made suche hast, that about noone they were so nere the Scottys, that eche of theym myghte clerely se other. And as soone as the Scottis sawe theym, they issued owte of theyre lodges a foote, and ordeyned iii. great battelles, in the avaylynge of the hyll: and at the foote of thys mountaygne, there ranne a great ryver, full of great rockes and stones, so that none myght passe over, withowte greate daunger or jeopardye, and though the Englisshmen hadde passed over the ryver, yet was there no place nor rowme, bytwene the hylle and the ryver, to sette the batayle in good order. The Scottis hadde stablysshed their two fyrste battelles, at the two corners of the mountaigne, joynyng to the rockes, so that none myght well mounte upon the hyll to assayle theym; but the Scottis were ever redy to beate with stones the assaylantis, if they passed the ryver. And whan the lordes of Inglande sawe the behavyng and the maner of the Scottis, they made all their people to alyght a foote, and to put of theyr spurris, and araynged iii. great batelles, as they hadde done before, and there were made many newe knyghtis. And whan theyr batelles were sette in good order, than some of the lordes of Inglande brought theyr yong kyng a horse backe, before all the battelles of the oste, to the entent to gyve therby the more courage to all his people; the whiche kyng in full goodly maner prayed and requyred them ryght graciously, that every man wolde payne theym to do theyr beste, to save his honour, and common weale of his realme. And it was commaunded upon peyne of deth, that none shulde go before the marshals baners, nor breke theyr arraye, without they were commaunded. And than the kyng commaunded, that they shulde advaunce towarde their ennemyes, fayre and easely: and so they dyd, and every batell went forth in good array and order, a great space of grounde, to the discendyng of the mountaygne, where as the Scottis were. And this the Englisshe oste dyd

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to thentent to se if their ennemies wolde breke their felde, or nat, and to se what they wolde do, but they could nat parcevye that they were about to remove in any wise; they wer so nere toguyther, that they myght knowe eche others armes. Than the oste stode styll to take other counsell. And some of the oste mounted on good horses, and rode forth to skrymysshe with theym, and to beholde the passage of the ryver, and to se the countynaunce of theyre ennemyes more nerer. And there were herauldis of armes sent to the Scottis, gyvyng them knowledge, if that they wolde come and passe the ryver to fight with them in the playn felde, they wolde drawe backe fro the ryver, and gyve theym sufficient place to araynge theyr batelles, eyther the same day or els the next, as they wold chose them selfe, or els to lette them do lyke wyse, and they wolde come over to them. And whan the Scottis harde this, they toke counsell among theymselfe: and anon they answerd the herauldis, how they wold do nother the one, nor the other, and sayd, Syrs, your kyng and his lordis se well how we be here in this realme, and have brent and wasted the countrey as we have passed through, and if they be displeased ther with, lette them amend it whan they wyll, for here we wyll abyde, as long as it shall please us. And as soone as the kyng of Ingland hard that answere, hit was incontynent cryed, that all the oste shuld lodge there that nyght without reculyng backe. And so the oste lodged there that nyght, with moche peyne, on the harde ground and stones, alwayes styll armed. They had no stakes nor roddis, to tye withall their horses, nor forage, nor busshe to make withall any fyre. And whan they were thus lodged, than the Scottis caused some of theyre people to kepe styll the felde, where as they had ordeyned their battelles, and the remnant went to their lodgyngs, and they made suche fyers that it was merveile to beholde. And bitwene the day and the nyght, they made a merveilus great brute, with blowyng of hornes all at ones, that it seemed proprely that all the develles of hell had ben there. Thus these two ostis were lodged that nyght; the whiche was saynte Peters nyght, in the begynnyng of Auguste, the yere of oure lorde M.CCC. xxvii. And the nexte mornynge, the lordes of Inglande harde masse, and raynged agayne

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theyre batelles, as they hadde done the daye before: and the Scottis in lyke wyse ordred theyr battelles. Thus both the ostis stoode styll in batell, tyll it was noone. The Scottis made never semblaunt to come to the Englysshe oste, to fyght with theym, nor in lyke wyse the Englisshe men to them: for they coulde nat aproche to gither withowte great dammage. There were dyverse compaignyons a horse-back, that passed the ryver, and some a foote, to skrymisshe with the Scottis: and in like wyse some of the Scottis brake oute, and skrymysshed with them; so that there were dyverse on bothe partyes slayne, wounded, and takyn prysoners. And after that noone was paste, the lordes of Inglande commaunded every man, to drawe to theyr lodgyng, for they sawe well the Scottis wolde nat fyght with theym: and in like maner thus they dyd iii. dayes togyther, and the Scottis in lyke case kepte styll theyr mountaygnes. Howe be it there was skrymysshynge on bothe partyes, and dyverse slayne, and prysoners takyn. And every nyght the Scottis made great fyres, and great brute with showttyng and blowyng of hornes. The entencion of the Englysshe men was, to holde the Scottis there, in maner as beseged: (for they coulde nat fyghte with theym there as they were) thynkyng to have famysshed theym. And the Englisshemen knewe well by suche prysoners as they hadde takyn, that the Scottis hadde nother bredde, wyne, nor salte, nor other purveyaunce, save of beastis they had great plentye, the whiche they hadde takyn in the countrey, and myght eate at their pleasure without bredde, whiche was an evyll dyette, for they lacked oten meale to make cakes withall, as is sayde before, the whyche dyet some of the Englisshe men used, whan they hadde nede, specially Borderers, whan they make rodes into Scotlande. And in the mornyng the iiii. day, the Englyssh men loked on the mountaigne wher as the Scottis were, and they coulde se no creature, for the Scottis were departed at mydnyght. Than was there sent men a horse backe, and a foote over the ryver, to knowe where they were become; and about noone they founde theym lodged on another mountaigne, more stronger than the other was, by the same ryver syde, and where there was a great wodde on the one syde, to goo and come secretly, whan they

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lyst. Than incontynent the Englisshe oste dislodged, and drewe to that parte inbattelled in good order, and lodged theym on a nother hyll ageynst the Scottis, and raynged theyr battelles, and made semblant to have come to theym. Than the Scottis issued out of their lodges, and set theyr batels along the ryver syde ageynst them, but they wolde never come toward the Englisshe oste, and the Englisshmen could nat go to them, without they wold have ben slayn, or taken at avauntage. Thus they lodged eche ayenst other, the space of xviii. daies; and often tymes the kyng of Ingland sent to them his harauldis of armes, offeryng them, that yf they wolde come and fyght with hym, he wolde gyve them place sufficient on the playn grounde, to pytche theyr felde: or elles lette theym gyve hym rowme and place, and he assured theym, that he wolde come over the ryver and fyght with theym; but the Scottis wolde never agree therto. Thus both the oostis suffered moche payne and travayle, the space that they laye so nere togyther; and the fyrst nyght that the Englishe ost was thus lodged on the secund mountaigne, the lorde William[1] Duglas toke with hym aboute CC. men of armes, and past the ryver farre of fro the oste, so that he was nat parceyved, and sodenly he brake into the Englysshe ooste, about mydnyght, criyng Duglas, Duglas, ye shall all dye, theves of Inglande: and he slewe, or he seassed CCC. men, some in their beddis, and some skant redy: and he strake his horse with the spurres, and came to the kyngis owne tent, alwayes criyng Duglas, and strake a sundre ii. or iii. cordis of the kyngis tent, and so departed, and in that retret he lost some of his men. Than he returned agayn to the Scottis, so that ther was no more done: but every nyght the Englisshe oste made good and sure watche, for they doubted makyng of skryes: and ever the most part of the oste laye in their harneys; and every day ther were skrymysshes made, and men slayne on both parties; and in conclusion, the last daye of xxiiii. ther was a Scottisshe knyght takyn, who ageynst his wyll shewed to the lordes of Ingland, what state and condition the Scottis were in: he was so sore examyned, that for feare of his lyfe, he shewed howe the lordes of Scotland were accorded among themselfe, that the same nyght every man shuld be redy armed, and to folowe

[1] *James.*

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the baners of the lorde William[1] Duglas, and every man to kepe hym secrete; but the knyght could nat shewe them what they entended to do. Than the lordis of Ingland drewe them to counsaile, and ther it was thought among them, that the Scottis myght in the nyght tyme, come and assaile their oste on both sydes, to adventure themselfe other to lyve or dye, for they coulde endure no longer the famyne that was among theym.

[1] *James.*

Than the Englysshe lordes ordeyned iii. great batels, and so stode in iii. parties without their lodgyngis, and made great fyres, therby to se the better; and caused all their pages to kepe theyr lodgyngis and horses. Thus they stode styll all that nyght armed, every man under his owne standard and baner: and in the brekyng of the daye ii. trompettis of Scotland mette with the Englisshe scoutwatche, who toke the trompettis, and brought them before the kyng of Ingland and his counsaile, and than they said openly; Sirs, what do ye watche here, ye lose but your tyme, for on the jeopardye of our heedis, the Scottis are gone and departed before mydnyght, and they are at the lest by this tyme iii. or iiii. myle on theyr way, and they left us ii. behynd to thentent that we shulde shewe this to you. Than the Englisshe lordes said, that it were but a foly to folowe the Scottis, for they sawe well they coulde nat overtake theym: yet for doubte of deceyvyng, they kept styll the two trompettis pryvely, and caused their batailes to stande styll araynged, tyll it was nere prime. And whan they sawe for trouth, that the Scottis were departed, than every man had leave to retraye to their lodgyng, and the lordes toke counsaile to determyn what shulde be best to do. And in the meane tyme dyverse of the Inglisshe oste mounted on their horses, and passed over the ryver, and came to the mountaigne, where as the Scottis had ben, and ther they founde mo than v. C. great bestis redy slayne, bicause the Scottis could nat dryve them before theyr ooste, and bicause that the Englisshe men shulde have but small profit of them; also ther they founde CCC. caudrons made of beastis skynnes, with the heare styll on them, strayned on stakes over the fyre, full of water and full of flesshe, to be sodden, and more than a M. spyttis full of flesshe to be rosted; and more than x. M. olde shoos

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made of rawe lether, with the heare styll on them, the whiche the Scottis had left behynd them; also there they founde v. poore Englysshemen prisoners bounde faste to certayne trees, and some of their legges broken: than they were losed and let go, and than they returned agayn, and by that tyme al the oste was dislodged, and it was ordeyned by the kyng, and by the advyce of his counsaile, that the hole oste shulde folowe the marshals baners, and drawe homewarde in to Ingland: and so they dyd, and at the last came into a fayre medow, where as they founde forage sufficient for their horses and cariagis, wherof they had great nede, for they were nigh so feble that it shulde have ben great peyne for them to have goon any forther. The Englisshe Cronicle sayth, that the Scottis had ben fought with all, and syr Roger Mortymer, a lorde of Inglande, had nat betraied the kyng, for he toke mede and money of the Scottis, to thentent they myght departe pryvely by nyght, unfoughte withall, as hit maye be seen more playnely in the Englisshe Cronycle, and divers other maters, the whiche I passe over at this tyme, and folowe myn auctour. And so than the nexte day the oste dislodged agayn and went forth, and abowte noone they came to a great abbey, two myle fro the cite of Durham, and there the kyng lodged, and the oste there about in the feldis, where as they founde forage sufficient for theymselfe, and for theyr horses: and the nexte day the oste lay theyr styll, and the kyng went to the cite of Durham to se the churche, and there he offered: and in this cite every man founde their owne cariagis the whyche they hadde lefte xxxii. dayes before in a wodde, at mydnyght, whan they folowed the Scottis fyrst, as it hath ben shewed before, for the burgesses and people of Durham, had founde and broughte theym into theyr towne at theyre owne costis and chargis. And all these cariagis were sette in voyde granges and barnes, in savegarde, and on every mannes cariage his owne cognisaunce or armes, wherby every man myght knowe his owne. And the lordes and gentylmen were gladde, whan they hadde thus founde their cariages. Thus they aboode two dayes in the cite of Durham, and the oste rounde about, for they coulde nat all lodge within the cite, and there theyr horses were newe shoode. And than

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Howe the kyng of Ingelande made his first journey agaynst the Scottis.

they toke theyr way to the cite of Yorke, and so within iii. dayes they came thither, and ther the kyng founde the quene his mother, who receyved hym with great joye, and so dyd all other ladyes, damozelles, burgesses, and commons of the citie.

The kyng gave lycence to all maner of people, every man to drawe homewarde to theyr owne countreys. And the kyng thanked greatly the erles, barones, and knyghtis, of theyr good counsaile and ayde, that they had done to hym in hys journey; and he retayned styll with hym syr John of Heynaulte, and all his company, who were greatly feasted by the quene, and all other ladyes. Than the knyghtis and other straungers of hys company, made a byll of their horses, and suche other stuffe as they had lost in that journey, and delyvered it to the kyngis counsaile, every man by it selfe: and in truste of the kyngis promyse, syr John of Heynaulte lorde Beamont, bounde hymselfe to all his company, that they shulde be content for every thyng comprised in theyr owne bils, within a short space; for the kyng nor his counsaile coulde nat so soone recover golde or sylver to content their desyres; but he delyvered them sufficient by reason, to pay all their small charges, and to bryng them home withal into theyr owne countreis; and anon after within the same yere, they were payd for every thyng they coulde desyre. Than they of Heynnaulte bought lytle nagges to ryde at theyr ease, theyr lackettis, and pagis, and all their harneys and baggages by water in ii. shippes, that was delivered to them, the whiche shyppes with theyr stuffe arryved at Sluce, in Flaundders; and syr John of Heynnaulte, and his companye, toke theyr leve of the kyng, of the olde quene, of the erle of Kent, of the erle of Lancastre, and of all the other barones, who greatly dyd honour theym. And the kyng caused xii. knightis, and CC. men of armes to company them, for doubt of the archers of Ingland, of whome they were nat wel assured, for they must needis passe through the busshopryke of Lincoln. Thus departed sir John of Heynaulte, and his rowte, in the conduct of these knyghtis, and rode so long in theyr journey, that they came to Dover, and ther entred into the see in shippis and vessels, that they founde redy

CAP. XVIII
Howe the kyng of Inglande made his first journey agaynst the Scottis.

ther apparayled for them. Than the Englisshe knyghtis departed fro thens, and retourned to their owne houses, and the Henous[1] arrived at Wysant, and ther they sojourned ii. dayes, in makyng redy theyr horses and harneys. And in the mean tyme syr John of Heynault, and some of his company rode a pylgrimage to our lady of Bollayn, and after, they returned into Heynaulte, and departed eche fro other, to their owne howses, and countres: syr John of Heynaulte rode to therle his brother, who was at Valenciennes, who receyved hym joyously, for greatly he loved hym, to whom he recounted all his tydyngis that ye have hard here before.

[1] *Hainaulters.*

CAP. XIX

Howe kyng Edward was maryed to my lady Philyp of Heynaulte.

HIT was nat long after, but that the kyng, and the quene his mother, therle of Kent, his uncle, therle of Lancastre, sir Roger Mortymer, and all the barones of Inglande, and by the advyce of the kyngis counsaile, they sent a busshop, and ii. knyghtis banerettis, with ii. notable clerkis, to syr John of Heynaulte, prayeng hym to be a mean, that theyr lorde, the yong kyng of Ingland, myght have in mariage one of the erles doughters of Heynaulte, his brother, named Phylyp; for the kyng, and all the nobles of the realme, had rather have her than any other lady for the love of hym; syr John of Heynault lord Beamont, feasted and honored greatly these ambassadours, and brought them to Valenciennes to therle his brother, who honorably receved them, and made them suche chere, that it were over long here to reherse; and whan they had shewed the content of theyr message, therle said, Sirs, I thanke greatly the kyng your prynce, and the quene his mother, and all other lordes of Ingland, syth they have sent suche sufficient personages as ye be, to do me suche honor as to treat for the mariage, to the whiche request, I am well agreed, if our holy father the pope wyll consent therto; with the whiche answer these ambassadours were right well

CAP. XIX

Howe kyng Edward was maryed to my lady Philyp of Heynaulte.

content. Than they sent ii. knyghtis, and ii. clerkis, incontinent to the pope, to Avygnon, to purchase a dispensation for this mariage to be had, for without the popes licence they might nat marie, for the linage of France they were so nere of kyn, as at the iii. degree, for the ii. mothers were cosyn jermayns issued of ii. brethern; and whan these ambassadours were come to the pope, and their requestis and considerations well hard, our holy father the pope, with all the hole colledge, consentyd to this mariage, and so feasted them. And than they departed and came agayne to Valenciennes with their buls. Than this mariage was concluded and affirmed on bothe parties. Than was there devysed and purveied for theyr apparaile, and for all thyngis honorable, that belonged to suche a lady, who shuld be quene of Ingland: and there this princesse was maryed, by a sufficient procuration, brought fro the kyng of Inglande; and after al feastis and triumphes done, than thys yonge quene entred into the see at Wysant, and arryved with all her company at Dover. And syr John of Heynaulte lorde Beamont, her uncle, dyd conduct her to the cite of London, where there was made great feast, and many nobles of Ingland, and the quene was crowned. And there was also great justes, tourneys, daunsyng, carolyng, and great feastis every day; the whiche endured the space of iii. weekis. The Englisshe Cronicle saith, this mariage, and coronation of the quene, was done at Yorke, with moche honour, the Sonday in the evyn of the conversion of saynt Paule, in the yere of our lorde M.CCC.xxvii. In the whiche Cronicle is shewyd many other thynges, of the rulynge of the realme, and of the deth of kyng Edwarde of Carnarvan, and dyverse other debates that were within the realme: as in the same Cronicle more playnly hit appereth, the whiche the auctor of this boke speketh no worde of, bicause peraventure he knewe it nat, for it was hard for a stranger to knowe all thyngis. But accordyng to his wrytyng, this yong quene Philyp aboode styll in Inglande, with a small company of any parsones of her owne country, savyng one who was named Wandelet[1] of Manny, who aboode styll with the quene, and was her karver, and after dyd so many great prowesses in dyverse places, that it were harde to make mencion of them all.

[1] *Watelet.*

CAP. XX

Howe kyng Robert of Scotland dyed.

AND whan that the Scottis were departed by nyght from the mountaigne, where as the kyng of Ingland hadde beseged them, as ye have harde here before, they went xxii. myle throughe that savage countrey without restyng, and passed the river of Tyne, right nere to Carlyle; and the nexte day they went into theyr owne lande, and so departed every man to his owne mansion; and within a space after there was a peace purchased bitwene the kyngis of Ingland and Scotland, and as the Englysshe Cronicle sayth, it was done by the speciall counsell of the olde quene, and syr Roger Mortymer; for by theyr meanes there was a parlyament holden at Northhampton, at the whiche the kyng being within age, graunted to the Scottis to release all the feaulties, and homages that they ought to have done to the Crowne of Inglande, by his Charter ensealed; and also there was delyvered to the Scottis an endenture, the whiche was called the Ragmon, wherin was conteyned all the homages and feaulties that the kyng of Scottis, and all the prelatis, erles, and barones of Scotlande, ought to have done to the crowne of Inglande, sealed with all their sealis, with all other rightis, that sondry barones and knyghtis ought to have hadde in the realme of Scotland. And also they delyvered to them agayn the blacke crosse of Scotland, the whiche the good kyng Edwarde conquered, and brought it out of the abbey of Scone, the whiche was a precious relique: and all rightis and enteresses that every baron had in Scotlande, was than clene forgyven. And many other thyngis were done at that parlyament, to the great hurt and prejudice of the realme of Ingland, and in maner ageynst the wyls of all the nobles of the realme, save onely of Isabell the olde quene, and the busshop of Ely, and the lorde Mortymer; they ruled the realme in suche wyse, that every man was myscontent. So the erle Henry of Lancastre, and syr Thomas Brotherton erle marshall, and syr Edmund of Wodstocke, the kyngis uncles, and dyverse

other lordes and commons, were agreed together to amende these faultes, if they myght. And in that meane tyme, the quene Isabell, and syr Roger Mortymer, caused another parliament to be holden at Salysbury, at the whiche parliament, syr Roger Mortymer was made erle of Marche, ageynst all the barons wyls of Ingland, in prejudice of the kyng and his realme: and sir John of Eltham, the kyngis brother, was made erle of Cornewal; to the whiche parliament therle Henry of Lancastre wold nat come, wherfore the kynge was broughte in beleve, that he wold have distroyed his parson, for the whiche they assembled a great hoste, and went to warde Bedforde, where as the Erle Henry was with his companye. Than the Erle Marshall, and therle of Kent, the kyngis brother, made a peace bitwene the kyng and the erle of Lancastre, on whose part was syr Henry lorde Beamont, syr Fowke Fitzwaryn, syr Thomas Rocellin, syr William Trussell, syr Thomas Wyther, and abowte a C. knyghtis, who were all expelled out of Inglande, by the counsaile of quene Isabell, and the Erle Mortymer: for he was so covetous that he thought to have the most part of all their landis into his owne handis, as it is more playnly shewed in the Inglisshe Cronicle, the whiche I passe over and folowe myn auctour. The forsaid peace whiche was purchased bitwene Ingland and Scotland, was to endure iii. yere; and in the meane tyme it fortuned that kyng Robert of Scotland was right sore aged, and feble; for he was greatly charged with the great sickenes, so that ther was no way with hym but deth; and whan he felte that his ende drew nere, he sent for suche barones and lordis of his realme as he trusted best, and shewed them, how there was no remedy with hym, but he must nedis leve this transetory lyfe: commaundyng them on the faith and trouth that they owed hym, truly to kepe the realme, and ayde the yong prince David his sonne, and that whan he wer of age, they shulde obey hym, and crowne hym kyng, and to mary hym in suche a place, as was convenient for his astate. Than he called to hym the gentle knyght sir William[1] Duglas, and sayde before all the lordes, Syr William, my dere frend, ye knowe well that I have had moche ado in my dayes, to uphold and susteyn the ryght of this realme, and whan I

CAP. XX

Howe kyng Robert of Scotland dyed.

[1] *James.*

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Howe kyng Robert of Scotland dyed.

had most ado, I made a solemne vow, the whiche as yet I have nat accomplysshed, wherof I am right sory: the whiche was, if I myght acheve and make an ende of al my warres, so that I myght ones have brought this realme in rest and peace, than I promysed in my mynd to have gone and warred on Christis ennemies, adversaries to our holy christen faith. To this purpose myn hart hath ever entended, but our Lorde wolde nat consent therto; for I have had so moche a do in my dayes, and nowe in my last entreprise, I have takyn suche a malady, that I can nat escape. And syth it is so that my body can nat go, nor acheve that my hart desireth, I wyll sende the hart in stede of the body, to accomplysshe myn avowe, and bycause I knowe nat in all my realme, no knyght more valyaunt than ye be, nor of body so well furnysshed to accomplysshe myn avowe in stede of my selfe, therfore I require you, myn owne dere aspeciall frende, that ye wyll take on you this voiage, for the love of me, and to acquite my soule agaynst my Lorde God; for I trust so moche in your noblenes and trouth, that and ye wyll take on you, I doubte nat, but that ye shall achyve it, and than shall I dye in more ease and quiete, so that it be done in suche maner as I shall declare unto you. I woll, that as soone as I am trepassed out of this worlde, that ye take my harte owte of my body, and enbawme it, and take of my treasoure, as ye shall thynke sufficient for that entreprise, both for yourselfe, and suche company as ye wyll take with you, and present my hart to the holy Sepulchre, where as our Lorde laye, seyng, my body can nat come there; and take with you suche company and purveyaunce, as shal be aparteynyng to your astate. And where so ever ye come, let it be knowen, howe ye cary with you the harte of kyng Robert of Scotland, at his instaunce and desire, to be presented to the holy Sepulchre. Than all the lordes that harde these wordes, wept for pitie. And whan this knyght, syr William Duglas, myght speke for wepyng, he sayd, A gentle and noble kyng, a C. tymes I thanke your grace of the great honour that ye do to me, sith of so noble and great treasure ye gyve me in charge: and syr, I shall do with a glad harte, all that ye have commaunded me, to the best of my true power; howe be it, I am nat worthy nor

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Howe kyng Robert of Scotland dyed.

sufficient to achyve suche a noble entreprise. Than the kyng sayd, A gentle knyght, I thanke you, so that ye wyl promyse to do it. Syr, sayd the knyght, I shall do it undoubtedly, by the faythe that I owe to God, and to the ordre of knyghthodde. Than I thanke you, sayd the kyng, for nowe shall I dye in more ease of my mynde, sith that I know that the most worthy and sufficient knyght of my realme shall achyve for me, the whiche I could never atteyne unto. And thus soone after thys, noble Robert de Bruse, kyng of Scotland, trepassed out of this uncertayne worlde, and hys hart taken out of his body, and enbaumed, and honorably he was entred in the abbey of Donfremlyn, in the yere of our Lord God, M.CCC.xxvii. the vii. day of the moneth of Novembre.

And whan the spryngyng tyme began, than syr William Duglas purveied hym of that whiche aparteyned for his entreprise, and toke his ship, at the port of Morais,[1] in Scotlande, and sailed into Flanders, to Sluce, to here tydyngis, and to knowe, if there were any noble man in that countrey, that wolde go to Jerusalem, to thentent to have more company. And he lay styll at Sluce, the space of xii. daies, or he departed, but he wold never come a lande, but kept styll his shypp, and kept alwaies his port and behavour with great tryumphe, with trumpettis, and clarions, as though he had ben kyng of Scottis hymselfe. And in his companye, there was a knyght baneret, and vii. other knyghtis, of the realme of Scotland, and xxvi. yong squiers, and gentylmen to serve hym; and all his vessell was of golde and silver, pottis, basons, ewers, dysshes, flagons, barels, cuppes, and all other thyngis: and all suche as wolde come and se hym, they were well served, with two maner of wynes, and dyverse maner of spices, all maner of people, accordyng to their degres. And whan he had thus taryed there the space of xii. dayes, he hard reported, that Alphons, kyng of Spaigne, made warre ageynst a Sarazyn kyng, of Granade; than he thought to draw to that partie, thynkyng suerely he could nat bestowe his tyme more nobly, than to warre ayeynst Goddis ennemies; and that entreprise done, than he thought to go forth to Jerusalem, and to acheve that he was charged with. And so he departed, and toke

[1] *Montrose.*

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Howe kyng Robert of Scotland dyed.

the se toward Spaigne, and arryved at the port of Valence, the great; than he went streight to the kyng of Spaigne, who helde his host ageynst the kyng of Granade Sarazyn, and they were nere together, on the fronters of his lande; and within a while after that, this knyght syr William Duglas was come to the kyng of Spaigne, on a day, the kyng issued out into the felde, to aproche nere to his ennemies. And the kyng of Granade issued out in like wyse on his parte, so that eche kyng myght se other with al their baners displayed. Than they arenged their batels eche ageynst other. Than syr William Duglas drewe out on the one syde, with all his company, to the entent to shewe his prowes the better. And whan he saw these batels thus ranged on both parties, and sawe that the bataile of the kyng of Spaigne, began somewhat to advaunce towarde their ennemies, he thought than verelye that they shulde soone assemble to gether to fyght at hande strokes; and than he thought rather to be with the formest than with the hyndemoost, and strake his horse with the spurres, and al his company also, and dashte into the batelle of the kyng of Granade, criynge 'Duglas, Duglas': wenyng to hym, the kyng of Spaigne and his host had folowed, but they dyd nat; wherfore he was disceyved, for the Spaignysshe host stode styll. And so this gentle knyght was enclosed, and all his company with the Sarazyns, where as he dyd mervelles in armes, but fynally he coulde nat endure, so that he and all his company were slayne. The whiche was great dammage, that the Spaynyardis woulde nat rescue them.

Also in this season there were certayn lordes that treated for peace bitwene Ingland and Scotlande. So that at the last there was a mariage made, and solempnised, bitwene the yong kyng of Scotland and dame Johan of the Towre, suster to kyng Edward of Ingland, at Berwyke, as the Inglisshe Cronicle saith, on Mary Maudlyn day, the yere of our Lord, M.iii.C.xxviii. agaynst the assente of many of the nobles of the realme. But quene Isabell, the kyngis mother, and the erle Mortymer made that mariage, at the which (as myn auctor saith) there was great feast made on bothe parties.

CAP. XXI

Howe Phylypp of Valoys was crowned kyng of Fraunce.

KYNG CHARLES of Fraunce, sonne to the fayre kyng Phylyp, was three tymes maried, and yet dyed without issue male. The first of his wyves, was one of the most fayrest ladyes in all the world, and she was doughter to the erle of Artoys. Howe be it she kept but evyll the sacrament of matrimony, but brake her wedloke; wherfore she was kept a long space in pryson, in the castell Gaylarde, before that her husband was made kyng. And whan the realme of France was fallen to him, he was crowned by the assent of the twelve dowsepiers of Fraunce; and than, bicause they wold nat that the realme of France shulde be long without an heyre male, they advysed by their counsell, that the kyng shulde be remaryed agayne, and so he was to the doughter of the Emperour Henry of Lucenbourg, suster to the gentle kyng of Bayhaigne, wherby the first mariage of the kyng was fordoone bytwene hym and his wyfe that was in prison, by the licence and declaracyon of the pope that was than; and by his second wyfe, who was ryght humble, and a noble wyse lady, the kyng had a sonne, who dyed in his yong age, and the quene also, at Issodun in Berrey. And they both dyed suspeciously; wherfore dyvers parsones were put to blame after, prively. And after this the same kyng Charles was maried agayn the third tyme, to the doughter of his uncle, the lorde Loyes erle of Dewreux,[1] and she was suster to the kyng of Naverre, and was named quene Johan. And so in tyme and space this lady was with childe, and in the meane tyme the kyng Charles her husband fell sycke, and lay downe on his dethe bedde. And whan he sawe there was no waye with hym but deth, he devised, that if it fortuned the quene to be delyvered of a sonne, than he wolde, that the lorde Phylyp of Valoys shulde be his governour, and regent of all hys realme, tyll his sonne come to suche age as he myght be crowned kyng; and if it fortune the quene to have a

[1] *Evreux.*

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Howe Phylypp of Valoys was crowned kyng of Fraunce.

doughter, than he wold, that all the twelve piers of Fraunce shulde take advyse and counsell, for the forther ordering of the realme, and that they shulde gyve the realme and regally, to hym that had moost ryght therto. And so within a whyle after, the kynge Charles dyed, about Ester, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.xxviii. and within a short space after the quene was delyverd of a doughter. Than all the peres of Fraunce assembled a counsell togyder at Parys, as shortly as they might conveniently, and there they gave the realme by commen acorde to sir Phylippe of Valoys, and put clene out the quene Isabell of Englande, and kynge Edwarde her sonne, for she was suster germayne to king Charles last deed; but the opynion of the nobles of Fraunce was, and sayed and maynteyned, that the realme of Fraunce was of so great nobles, that it ought nat by successyon to fall into a womans hande. And so thus they crowned kyng of Fraunce Philypp Valoys at Raygnes,[1] on Trinyte Sonday next after. And anone after he somoned all his barownes and men of warr, and went with all his power to the towne of Cassell, and layd sieg therto, in makyng warr agaynst the Flemmynges, who rebelledde agaynst their owne lorde, and namely: they of Bruges, of Ippre, and of Franke, for they wolde nat obey therle of Flaunders, but they had chased hym out of his owne countrey, so that he might nat abyde in no partie therof, but onely in Gaunt, and scantly ther. These Flemmynges were a sixteen thousande, and had a capytayne called Colen Dannequyn, a hardy man and a couragious. And they had made their garyson at Cassell, at the wages of dyverse townes in Flaunders, to thentent to kepe the fronters there about; but ye shall here howe the Flemmynges were dysconfeted, and all by their owne outrage.

[1] *Rheims.*

CAP. XXII

Of the batell of Cassell in Flaunders.

AND on a day they of the garyson of Cassell departed out, to thentent to have dysconfyted the kyng and all his hoost. And they came prively without any noyse in thre batels well ordred; wherof the first

CAP. XXII
Of the batell of Cassell in Flaunders.

batayle toke the way to the kynges tentes, and it was a fayre grace that the kynge had nat ben taken, for he was at souper, and all his company, and thought nothyng of them. And the other batayle toke the streyght way to the tentes of the kynge of Behaygne, and in maner they founde hym in lyke case. And the thirde batayle went to the tentes of therle of Heynault, and in likewyse had nere take hym. These hoostes came so peasably to the tentes, that with moch payne they of thoost coude arme them, wherby all the lordes and their people had been slayne, and the more grace of God had nat ben; but in maner by myracle of God, these lordes dysconfyted all thre batayls, eche batayle by it selfe, all in one hour. In such wyse, that of xvi. thousande Flemmynges, ther ascaped never a person, captayns and all were slayne. And the kyng and lordes of France knewe nat one of an other, nor what they hadde done, tyll all was finysshedde and atchyved; for they lay in thre sondrie parties one fro an other; but as for the Flemmynges, there was nat one left a lyve, but all lay deed on hepes, one upon an other, in the sayed thre sondrie places. And this was done on saynt Bartylmewes day, the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.xxviii. Than the Frenchmen entred into the towne of Cassell, and set up the baners of Fraunce: and the towne yelded then to the kyng, and also the towne Pyepingne,[1] and of Ipre, and all they of the Castlayne of Bergues; and than they receyved therle Loys their lorde, and sware to hym faythe and loyaltie for ever. Than after the kynge and his people departed, and went to Parys, and he was moche honoured and praysed for this enterprise and ayd, that he had done to his cosyn Lois erle of Flaunders. And thus the kyng was in great prosperite and every day encresed his ryall estat; for as it was sayd, ther was never kyng in Fraunce that helde like estat, as dyd this kyng Philyp of Valoys.

[1] *Poperinghe.*

CAP. XXIII

Howe the erle of Kent and the erle Mortymer in Englande were put to deth.

THIS yong kyng Edwarde of Englande was governed a great space, as ye have harde before, by the counsell of the quene his mother, and of Edmonde of Wodstoke, erle of Kent, his uncle, and by sir Roger Mortymer, erle of March. And at the last, envy began to growe bytwene therle of Kent and therle Mortymer; in so moch that this erle Mortimer enformed so the yong kyng, by the consentyng of tholde quene Isabell his mother, beryng the kyng in hande, that therle of Kent wolde have enpoysoned hym, to thentent to be kynge hymselfe, as he that was nexte heyre apparaunt to the crowne: for the kynges yonger brother, who was called John a Gaunt, was newly deed. And than the kyng, who gave lyght credence to theym, causedde his uncle, the erle of Kent, to be taken, and openly to be beheeded, without any maner of excuse to be harde; wherwith many of the nobles of the realme wer sore troubled, and bare a gruge in their hertes towarde the erle Mortymer: and, accordyng to thenglysshe cronycle, therle suffred dethe atte Wynchester, the tenth day of Octobre, the thirde yere of the kynges raygne, and lyeth buryed at the friers in Winchestre. But as myne auctour sayeth, within a whyle after, as it was reported, quene Isabell, the kynges mother, was with chylde, and that, by therle Mortymer; wherof the kyng was enfourmed, and how the sayd Mortymer had caused him to put to deth therle of Kent his uncle, without good reason or cause, for all the realme reputed hym for a noble man. Thanne by the kynges commaundement, this erle Mortymer was takenne, and brought to London; and there, byfore the great lordes and nobles of the realme, was recyted by open declaratyon, all the dedes of the sayd Mortymer. Than the kynge demaunded of his counsell, what shuld be done with hym; and all the lordes by commen assent gave judgement, and sayed, Syr, he hath deserved to dye the same dethe that sir

Hewe Spenser dyed. And after this judgement there was no delacyon of sufferaunce nor mercy, but incontynent he was drawen throughout London, and then set on a scaffolde, and his membres cut from hym, and cast into a fyre, and his hert also, bycause he had ymagined treason, and thanne quartered, and his quarters sent to foure of the best cyties of the realme, and his heed remayned styll in London. And within a lytle space after, the kyng commaunded, by thadvyce of his counsell, that the quene his mother shulde be kept close in a castell; and so it was done; and she had with her ladyes and damosels, knyghtes and squiers, to serve her acordyng to her estat; and certayne landes assigned to her, to mentayne therwith her noble estat all dayes of her lyfe; but in no wyse, she shulde nat depart out of the castell, without it were to se suche sportes as was somtyme shewed before the castell gate, for her recreatyon. Thus this lady ledde forth her lyfe ther mekely; and ones or twyse a yere, the kyng her son woulde come and se her. Thenglysshe cronycle sheweth dyverse other consyderations why therle Mortymer suffred deth, the which was on saynt Andrewes evyn, in the yere of our Lorde, a thousande thre hundred xxix.: the whiche I passe over and folowe myne authoure.

CAP. XXIII
Howe the erle of Kent and the erle Mortymer were put to deth.

CAP. XXIV

Of thomage that kyng Edwarde of Englande, dydde to the kynge of Fraunce, for the duchye of Guyen.

AND after that the king had done these two execucyons, he toke newe counselours of the moost noblest and sagest persons of his realme. And so it was about a yere after that Phylip of Valoys was crowned kyng of France, and that all the barones and nobles of the realme had made their homage and fealty to him, except the yong king of England, who had nat done his homage for the duchy of Guyen, nor also he was nat somoned thereto, Than the king of France, by thadvise of all his counsell. sent over into Englande the lorde Ancenis, the lorde Beausalt, and two notable clerkes, maisters of the parlya-

CAP. XXIV
Of thomage that kyng Edwarde of Englande, dydde to the kynge of Fraunce.

ment of Parys, named maister Peter of Orlyaunce, and maister Peter of Masieres. These iiii. departed fro Paris, and dyd so moch by their journeis that they came to Wysant, and ther they toke see and aryved at Dover, and ther taryed a day to abyde the unshypping of their horses and bagages: and than they rode forth so long that they came to Wynsore, where as the kyng and the yong quene of England lay; and than these foure caused to be knowen to the kynge the occasyon of their commyng. The kyng of Englande, for the honoure of the French kyng his cosyn, caused them to come to his presence, and receyved them honourably: and than they publysshed their message. And the kyng answered them, how that the nobles of his realme, nor his counsell was nat as than about hym, but desyred them to drawe to London, and ther they shulde be answered in such wyse, that of reason they shulde be content. And so they dyned in the kynges chambre, and after departed, and lay the same nyght at Colbroke, and the next day at London. It was nat long after but that the kynge came to his palace of Westmynster, and all his counsell was commaunded to be ther at a certayne day lymited; and whan they were all assembled, than the Frenche embassadours were sent for, and there they declared thoccasyon of their commynge, and delyvered letters fro their maister. Thanne the kynge went a parte with his counsell, to take advyse what was best for hym to do. Thanne was it advysed by his counsell, that they shulde be answered by thordynaunce and style of his predecessours, by the bysshoppe of London. And so the Frenchmen wer called into the counsell chambre: than the bysshop of London sayd, Lordes, that be here assembled for the kyng of Fraunce, the kyngis grace my soveraygne lorde hath harde your wordes, and redde the tenour of your letters; Syrs we say unto you, that we woll counsell the kyng our soveraygne lorde here present, that he go into Fraunce, to se the kynge your maister, his dere cosyn, who ryght amyably hath sent for hym: and as touchyng his faith and homage, he shall do his devour in every thynge that he ought to do of right; and syrs, ye may shewe the kyng your maister, that within short space, the kyng of Englande our maister shall arryve in Fraunce, and do all that reason shall

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requyre. Than these messangers were feasted, and the kynge rewarded them with many great gyftes and juelles, and they toke their leave and dyd somoche, that at last they came to Parys, wher they found kyng Phylippe, to whome they recounted all their newes; wherof the king was right joyouse, and specially to se the kyng of Englande his cosyn, for he hadde never sene hym before. And whan these tidynges were spredde abrode in the realm of Fraunce, than dukes, erles, and other lordes aparelled them in their best maner; and the kyng of Fraunce wrot his letters to kyng Charles of Behaygne his cosyn, and to the kynge of Navarre, certifyeng theym the day and tyme whan the kyng of England shuld be with hym, desyringe them to be with hym at the same day; and so they came thyder with gret array. Than was it counselled the kynge of Fraunce, that he shulde receyve the kyng of Englande at the cyte of Amyas,[1] and there to make provysion for his commyng. There was chambers, halles, hosteries, and lodgynges made redy, and apparelled, to receyve them all, and their company; and also for the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Burbon, the duke of Lurren, and syr John of Artoyes. There was purveyaunce for a thousande horse, and for sixe hundred horse that shulde come with the kyng of Englande. The yonge kyng of Englande forgate nat the voyage that he had to do into Fraunce; and so he aparelled for hym and his company, well and sufficiently; and there departed out of Englande in his company, two bysshoppes, besyde the bysshoppe of London, and foure erles, the lorde Henry erle of Derby, his cosyn germayne, sonne to sir Thomas erle of Lancastre, with the wrie necke, the erle of Salisbury, therle of Warwyke, and the erle of Hereforde, and vi. barownes, the lorde Raynolde Cobham, the lorde Thomas Wage[2] marshall of Englande, the lorde Persy, the lorde Manny, and the lorde Mowbray, and mo than xl. other knyghtes; so that the kyng and his company were about a thousand horse; and the kyng was two dayes in passing bytwene Dover and Wysant. Than the kyng and his company rod to Bullayne, and there taryed one day. This was about the myddes of August, the yere of our Lorde God a thousande thre hundred xxix. And anone the tidynges came to kyng

[1] *Amiens.*

[2] *Wake.*

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Of thomage that kyng Edwarde of Englande, dydde to the kynge of Fraunce.

Phylip of Fraunce, howe the kynge of Englande was at Bullayne. Than the kynge of Fraunce sent his constable with great plentie of knyghtes to the kynge of Englande, who as thanne was at Monsternell by the see syde,[1] and ther was gret tokens of love and good chere, made on bothe parties. Thanne the kynge of Englande rodde forth withall his rowt, and in his company the constable of Fraunce; and he rodde so long that they came to the cytie of Amyas, wher as kyng Phylippe, and the kynge of Behaygne, the kynge of Mayllorgues,[2] and the kynge of Navarre were redy aparelled to receyve the kynge of Englande, with many other dukes, erles, and great barownes: for there was all the xii. peres of Fraunce, redy to feast and make chere to the kynge of Englande, and to be there peasably, to bere wytnesse of the kynge of Englandes homage. Ther was the kyng of Englande nobly receyved; and thus these kynges and other princes taryed at Amyas the space of fifteen dayes, and in the meane tyme there were many wordes and ordynaunces devysed; but as farr as I coude knowe, kyng Edwarde of England made his homage to the kynge of Fraunce, all onely by worde, and nat puttyng his handes bytwene the kynge of Fraunce handes, nor none other prince nor prelate lymitted for hym; nor the kynge of Englande wolde nat procede any farther in doyng any more concernyng his homage, but rather he was determyned to returne agayne into Englande; and there was redde openly, the privyleges of auncyent tyme graunted, [in] the which was declared in what maner the kynge shulde do his homage, and howe, and in what wyse he shulde do servyce to the kynge of Fraunce. Than the kynge of Fraunce sayd, Cosyn, we woll nat disceyve you: this that ye have done pleaseth us rightwell, as for this present tyme, tyll such tyme as ye be returned agayne into your realme, and that ye have sene under the seales of your predecessoures, howe, and in what wyse ye shulde do. And so thus the kynge of Englande tooke his leave, and departed fro the kynge of Fraunce ryght amyably, and of all other princes that was there, and retourned agayne into Englande, and laboured so longe that he came to Wyndesor, where his quene receyvedde hym right joyously, and demaunded tidynges of kynge Phylippe her

[1] *Montreuil sur mer.*

[2] *Majorca.*

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uncle, and of her linage of Fraunce. The kyng shewed her all that he knewe, and of the gret chere and honour that he had there, and sayd, in his mynde, there was no realme coude be compared to the realme of Fraunce. And than within a space after the kyng of Fraunce sent into Englande of his specyall counsell, the byshoppe of Chartres, and the byshoppe of Beauvays, the lorde Loys of Cleremont, the duke of Burbon, therle of Harcourt, and therle of Tankervylle, with dyvers other knyghtes and clerkes, to the counsell of Englande, the which was than holden at London, for the parfourmaunce of the kyng of Englandes homage, as ye have harde before. And also the kyng of England and his counsell, had well oversene the maner and fourme, how his auncyent predecessours had done their homage for the duchy of Acquitayne. There were many as than in Englande that murmured and sayd, how the kyng their lorde was nerer by true succession of herytage to the crowne of Fraunce than Phylippe of Valoys, who was as than kyng of Fraunce. Howbeit the kyng and his counsell wolde nat knowe it, nor speke therof, as at that time. Thus was ther great assemble, and moch ado how this homage shulde be parfourmed. These embassadours taryed styll in Englande all that wynter, tyll it was the moneth of May folowyng, or they had aunswere dyffinatyve: howbeit finally, the kynge of Englande, by the advyce of his counsell, and on the syght of his privyleges, where unto they gave great fayth, was determyned to write letters in the maner of patentes, sealed with his great seale, knowlegyng therin the homage that he ought to do to the kyng of Fraunce; the tenour and report of the which letters patentes foloweth:

Edward by the grace of God, kyng of England, lorde of Ireland, and duke of Acquitayne, to them that these present letters shall se or here, send gretyng; we wold it be knowen, that as we made homage at Amyas to the right excellent prince our right dere cosyn, Phylyppe kyng of Fraunce; and there it was requyred by hym, that we shuld knowledge the sayd homage, and to make it to hym expresly, promysinge to bere hym fayth and trouth, the which we did nat as than, bycause we were nat enfourmed of the

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trouth; we made hym homage by generall wordes, in sayeng how we entred into his homage in lyke maner as our predecessours, Dukes of Guyen, in tymes past, had entred into thomage of the kyng of Fraunce for that tyme beyng: and syth that tyme we have ben well enfourmed of the trouth; therfore we knowlege by these presentes, that such homage as we have made in the cyte of Amyas to the kyng of Fraunce in general wordes, was, and ought to be understande this worde, lyege man; and that to hym we owe, to bere faith and trouth, as duke of Acquitayne and pere of Fraunce, erle of Poyters[1] and of Mutterell;[2] and to thentent in tyme commynge that there shulde never be dyscorde. For this cause, we promyse for us and our successours, dukes of Acquitayne, that this homage be made in this maner folowyng; The kyng of Englande, duke of Acquitayne, holdeth his handes bytwene the handes of the kyng of Fraunce; and he that shall addresse these wordes to the kynge of Englande, duke of Acquitayne, shall speke for the kyng of Fraunce in this maner: Ye shall become lyege man to the kynge my lorde here present, as duke of Guyen, and pere of Fraunce; and to hym promyse to bere faythe and trouthe, say, ye: and the kyng of Englande, duke of Guyen, and his successours, sayth, ye. And than the kyng of Fraunce receyveth the kyng of Englande, duke of Guyen, to this sayd homage, as lyege man, with faythe and trouth spoken by mouth, savyng his ryght and all other. And furthermore, whan the sayd kyng entreth in homage to the kyng of Fraunce, for therldome of Poyters, and of Muttrell,[2] he shall putte his handes bytwene the handes of the kyng of Fraunce, for the sayd erledome. And he that shall speke for the kynge of Fraunce, shall addresse his wordes to the kynge and erle, and say thus; Ye shall become liege man to the kyng of Fraunce, my lorde here present, as erle of Poyters, and Muttrell;[2] and to hym promyse to bere fayth and trouth, say, ye, and the kyng, erle of Poyters, sayth, ye. Than the kyng of Fraunce receyveth the kyng and erle to this sayd homage by his fayth, and by his mouth, savyng his ryght and all other. And after this maner it shal be done, and renewed as often as homage shulde be done. And of that we shall delyver, and our succesours, dukes of

[1] *Ponthieu.*
[2] *Montreuil.*

Guyen, after these sayd homages, made letters patentes, sealed with our great seale, if the kynge of Fraunce requyre it; and beside that, we promyse in good faythe to holde, and to kepe effectuously the peace, and concorde, made bytwene the kynges of Fraunce, and the kynges of Englande, dukes of Guyen, &c. CAP. XXIV Of thomage that kyng Edwarde of Englande, dydde to the kynge of Fraunce.

These letters the lordes of Fraunce brought to the kyng their lorde, and the kyng caused them to be kept in his chauncery.

CAP. XXV

Howe the lorde syr Robert of Artoyse was chased out of the realme of Fraunce.

THE man in the world that most ayded kyng Philyppe, to attayne to the Crowne of Fraunce, was syr Robert, erle of Artoyse, who was oone of the most sagest, and greatteste lordes in Fraunce, and of hygh lynage extraughte, fro the blodde royall, and hadde to his wyfe suster jermayn to the sayd kyng Phylyp, and allwayes was his chiefe and speciall compaignyon, and lover in all hys astatis. And the space of iii. yere, all that was done in the realme of Fraunce was done by his advyce, and withoute hym nothyng was done. And after it fortuned, that this kyng Philyppe tooke a mervailouse great displeasure and hatred ageynst this noble man, syr Robert of Artoyse, for a plee that was moved before hym, wherofe the Erle of Artoyse was cause: for he wolde have wonne his entent, by the vertue of a letter that he layd forth, the whiche was nat true, as it was sayde; wherfore the kyng was in suche displeasure, that yf he hadde takyn hym in his ire, surely it hadde coste hym his lyfe, without remedy. So this syr Robert was fayne to voyde the realme of Fraunce, and went to Namure, to the Erle John his Nephewe: than the kyng toke the Erles wyfe, and her two sonnes, who were his owne nephewes, John, and Charles, and dyd put them in prison, and were kept straytly, and the kyng sware that they shulde never come out of prison, as long as they lyved; the kyngis mynde wolde nat be turned by no maner of meanes. Than

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the kyng in his furye sente hastely to the busshopp Raoul of Liege, and desired hym, at his instaunce, that he wolde defye and make warre agaynst the erle of Namure, without he wolde put out of his countrey syr Roberte erle of Artoyse. And this busshoppe, who greatly loved the kynge of Fraunce, and but lytle loved his neyghbours, dyd as the kyng desired hym. Than the erle of Namure, sore ageynst his wyll, caused the erle of Artoyse to avoyde his lande. Than this erle, syr Robert, went to the duke of Brabant, his cosyn, who right joyously receyved hym, and dyd hym great comforte; and as soone as the kyng of Fraunce knew that, he sent worde to the duke, that if he wold susteyne, maynteyn, or suffre, the erle of Artoyse in his countrey, he shulde have no greatter ennemy than he wold be to hym, and that he wolde make warre ageynst hym, and al his, to the best of his power, with all the realme of Fraunce. Than the duke sent the erle of Artoyse pryvely to Argentuel, to thentent to se what the kyng wolde do forther in the case; and anon the kyng knew it, for he had spyes in every corner. The kyng had great dispyte, that the duke shuld so dele with hym, and within a brief space after, the kyng pourchased, so by reason of his golde and sylver, that the kyng of Behaigne, who was cosin jermayn to the duke of Brabant, and the busshop of Liege, the arche bysshop of Coleyn, the duke of Guerles, the marques of Julyers, the erle of Bare, the lord of Los, the lorde Fawkmount, and divers other lordes, were alied toguyther, al ayenst the duke of Brabant, and defyed hym, and entred with a great oste in to his countrey by Esbayng, and so cam to Hanut, and brent twyse over the countrey where as it pleased them. And the kyng of Fraunce sent with them therle of Ewe, his Constable, with a great oste of men of armes. Than the erle William of Heynaulte, sent his wyfe, suster to the kyng, and his brother, syr John of Heynaulte, lorde Beamont, into Fraunce, to treat for a peace, and sufferaunce of warr, bitwene the kyng and the duke of Brabant. And at last the kyng of France, with moche warke, consented therto, upon condition, that the duke shulde put hymselfe utterly to abyde the ordynaunce of the kyng of Fraunce, and of his counsaile, in every mater that the kyng, and all

suche as had defyed hym, had ageynst him; and also within a certayn day lymitted, to avoyde out of his countrey the erle of Artoyse, and to make shorte; al this the duke dyd sore ayenst his wyll. CAP. XXV Howe syr Robert of Artoyse was chased out of Fraunce.

CAP. XXVI

Howe kyng Edwarde of Ingland toke the towne of Berwyke ageynst the Scottis.

YE have harde here before recited, of the truce bitwene Inglande and Scotland, for the space of iii. yere; and so the space of oone yere, they kept well the peace, so that in CCC. yere before, there was nat so good peace kept: howbeit, kyng Edward of Ingland was enformed, that the yong kyng David, of Scotland, who had wedded his suster, was seaced of the towne of Berwyke, the whiche ought to apperteyn to the realme of Ingland; for kyng Edward the first, his graunfather, had it in his possession peasably. Also the kyng was enformed, that the realme of Scotlande shulde holde in chiefe of the Crowne of Inglande, and how the yong kyng of Scottis had nat done as than his homage; wherfore the kyng of Ingland sent his ambassad to the kyng of Scottis, desyryng hym to leve his handis of the towne of Berwyke, for it parteyned to his heritage, for kyngis of Inglande, his predecessours, have ben in possession therof: and also they somoned the kyng of Scottis, to come to the kyng of Ingland, to do his homage for the realme of Scotland. Than the kyng of Scottis toke counsaile, howe to answere thys mater: and finally, the kyng answerde the Englisshe ambassadours, and sayd, Syrs, both I and all the nobles of my realme, mervaile greatly of that ye have requyred us to do, for we fynd nat auncientely, that the realme of Scotlande shulde any thyng be bounde, or be subgiet to the realme of Ingland, nother by homage, or any other wayes: nor the kyng of noble memorye, our father, wolde never do homage to the kyngis of Ingland, for any warre that was made unto hym, by any of them; no more in likewyse I am in wyll to do: and also kyng

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Robert, our father, conquered the towne of Berwyke, by force of armes, agaynst kyng Edwarde, father to the kyng, your maister, that nowe is; and so my father helde it all the dayes of his lyfe as his good heritage; and so in lyke maner we thynke to do, to the best of our power. Howebeit lordes, we require you to be meanes to the kyng your master, whose suster we have maryed, that he wyll suffre us peaseably to enjoye our fraunches and rightis, as his auncetours have done here before; and to lette us enjoye that our father hath wonne, and kept it peaseably all his lyfe dayes; and desyre the kyng your maister, that he wolde nat beleve any evyll counsaile, gyven hym to the contrary: for if ther were any other prince that wolde do us wrong, he shuld aide, succour, and defende us, for the love of his suster, whom we have maryed. Than these ambassadours answerd and said, Syr, we have well understande your answere: we shall shewe it to the kyng our lorde, in lyke maner as ye have said; and so toke theyr leave, and returned into Inglande to the kyng; with the whiche answere the kyng of Ingland was nothyng content. Than he somoned a parliament, to be holden at Westminster, where as all the nobles, and wyse men of the realme were assembled, to determine what shuld be best to be done in this mater. And in this meane tyme, syr Robert, erle of Artoys, came into Inglande, dysguysed lyke a marchaunt, and the kyng receyved hym right joyously, and reteyned hym as one of his counsaile, and to hym assigned the erledom of Rychemount. And whan the daye of the parliament aproched, and that all the nobles of the lande were assembled about London, than the kyng caused to be shewed the message, and howe he had wrytten to the kyng of Scottis, and of the answere of the same kyng. Wherfore the kyng desyred all the nobles of his realme, that they wolde gyve hym suche counsaile, as shulde aperteyne to the savyng of his honour and ryght. And whan they were all assembled in counsaile, they thought that the kyng myght no lenger bear by his honour, the injuryes and wronges, that the kyng of Scottis dyd hym dayly; and so they reported their advise to the kyng, exortyng hym to provyde for his force and strength of men of warre, to atteyne therby the towne of Berwike, and to

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Howe kyng Edwarde of Ingland toke the towne of Berwyke ageynst the Scottis.

entre into the realme of Scotland, in suche wyse, that he shulde constrayne the kyng of the Scottis, to be joyfull to come and do his homage to hym. And so all the nobles and commons of the realme of Ingland, sayd they wold gladly, and willingly, go with hym in that journey: and of theyr good wyls, the kyng thanked them greatly, and desired them to be redy apparailed, at a daye assigned, and to assemble togyther at Newcastell upon Tyne. And than every man went home and prepared for that journey. Than the kyng sent agayn other ambassadours, to the kyng of Scottis, his brother in lawe, sufficiently to sommon hym; and if he wolde nat be other wyse advysed, than the kyng gave them full auctorite to defie hym. And so the day of the assembly of the kyngis oste aproched, at the whiche day, the kynge of Inglande, and all his oste, aryved at Newcastell upon Tyne, and there taried iii. dayes, for the residue of his oste, that was comyng after. And on the fourth day, he departed with al his oste toward Scotland, and passed through the landes of the lorde Persy, and of the lorde Nevell, who were two great lordes in Northumberland, and marched on the Scottis. And in lyke wyse so dyd the lorde Rosse, and the lorde Ligy,[1] and the lorde Mombray.[2] Than the kynge and all his oste, drewe toward the cite of Berwyke; for the kyng of Scotland made no other answere to these ii. messengers, but as he dyd to the fyrst; wherfore he was openly defied, and somoned. And so the kyng of Ingland and his oste entred into Scotland, for he was counsailed, that he shuld nat tary at siege at Berwike, but to ryde forth, and to burne the countrey, as his graund father dyd: and so he dyd. In whiche journey he wasted and distroyed all the playn countrey of Scotland, and exiled diverse townes that were closed with dykes, and with pales, and toke the strong castell of Edyngburth, and sette therin a garison. And so passed the secund ryver in Scotland, under Douffremlyn,[3] and ran over all the countrey there abowte to Scone, and distroyed the good towne of Douffremlyn,[4] but they dyd no evyll to the abbey, for the kyng of Ingland commaunded that no hurte shuld be done therto. And so the kyng conquered all the countrey to Dondieu,[5] and to Doubreten,[6] a strong castell, standyng on the marches ayenst

[1] *Lucy.*
[2] *Mowbray.*
[3] by mistake for *Stirling.*
[4] *Dunfermline.*
[5] *Dundee.*
[6] *Dumbarton.*

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the wylde Scottis, where as the kyng of Scottis, and the quene his wyfe, were withdrawen unto for suretie; for there were no Scottis that wolde appere afore the Englisshemen, for they were all drawen into the forest of Gedworth, the whiche wer inhabitable, and specially for them, that knew nat the countrey, wherin all the Scottis wer, and all theyr gooddis; and so they set but a lytle by all the remnant. And it was no marvaile, thoughe they were thus dryven: for the kyng their lorde was but xv. yere of age, and the erle of Morrey was but yong, and the nephew of Willyam Duglas, that was slayne in Spayn, was also of the same age: so as at that tyme, the realme of Scotland was dispurveyed of good capiteyns. And whan the kyng of Ingland had ron over all the playne countrey of Scotlande, and taried ther the space of vi. monethes, and sawe that none wold come agaynst hym, than he garnysshed divers castels that he had wonne, and thought by them to make warre to all the other. Than he withdrew fayre and easely toward Berwike; and in his returnyng, he wan the castell of Aluest,[1] parteynyng to the heritage of the erle Duglas: it was a v. leagis fro Edenburge, and therin the kyng set good capitayns, and than rode small journeis, tyll he came to Berwike, the whiche is at the entre of Scotlande, and there the kyng layd rounde about his siege, and sayd, he wolde never depart thens, tyll he had wonne it, or els the kyng of Scottis to come, and to reyse his siege parforce. And within the towne there were good men of warre, set there by the kyng of Scottis: before this cite ther were many assaultis, and sore skrymysshes, nygh every daye, for they of the cite wolde nat yelde them up symply, for alwaies they thought to be rescued; how be it, there was no succour appered. The Scottis, on mornyngis and nyghtis, made many skryes to trouble the oste, but lytle hurte they dyd, for the Englysshe oste was so well kepte, that the Scottis coulde nat entre, but to theyr dammage, and often tymes loste of theyr men. And whan they of Berwike sawe that no comfort, nor ayde, came to them fro any part, and that theyr vitayles began to fayle, and howe they were enclosed both by water and by lande; than they began to fall in a treate with the kyng of Ingland,

[1] *Dalkeith.*

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and desired a truce to endure a moneth; and if within the moneth, kyng David, theyr lorde, or some other for hym, come nat by force to reyse the seige, than they to rendre up the cite, their lyves and gooddis saved, and that the soudiers within, myght safly go into theyr countrey, without any dammage. This treaty was nat lightly graunted: for the kyng of Ingland wolde have had them yelded symply, to have had his pleasure of some of them, bicause they had hold so long ayenst hym: but finally he was content by the counsaile of his lordes. And also syr Robert of Artoys dyd put therto his payne, who had ben all that journeye with the kyng, and had shewed hym alwayes, howe he was next enheriter to the crowne of Fraunce; he wolde gladly that the kyng shuld have made warre into Fraunce, and aleft the warres of Scotland. So his wordes, and others, inclined greatly the kyng to condiscend to the treaty of Berwike; so this truce and treaty was graunted. Than they within the cite sent worde to their kyng, in what case they stode, but for all that, they coulde fynde no remedy to reyse the siege; so the cite was delyvered up at thende of the moneth, and also the castell; and the Marshals of the ost toke possession for the kyng of Ingland, and the burgesses of the cite came and dyd theyr feaute and homage to the kyng, and sware to hold of hym. Than after the kyng entred with great solempnite, and taryed there xii. dayes, and made a capitayn ther, called syr Edward Bailleul: and whan the kyng departed, he lefte with the sayde knyght, certayn yong knyghtis and squiers, to helpe to kepe the landis, that he had conquered of the Scottis, and the fronters therof. Than the kyng and his people returned to London, and every man into theyre owne countres; and the kyng went to Wyndesore, and syr Robert of Artoys with hym, who never ceassed daye nor nyght, in shewyng the kyng what ryght he had to the crowne of Fraunce: and the kyng harkened gladly to his wordis. Thus in this season, the kyng of Ingland wanne the most parte of the realme of Scotland, who had many expert knyghtis about hym, among other was sir Wylliam Montague, and syr Walter of Manny; they were hardy knyghtis, and dyd many dedis of armes ageynst the Scottis. And the better to have their entre into Scotland, they

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fortified the bastyde of Rosebourge,[1] and made it a strong castel; and syr Wylliam Montague dyd so well in all his entreprises, that the kyng made hym erle of Salysbury, and maried hym nobly. And also the lorde of Manny was made of the kyngis pryve counsaile, and well advaunsed in the courte.

True it was, that some of the knyghtis of Scotland, dyd ever the anoyaunce they coulde to the Englisshemen, and kept them in the wylde countrey, among marisshes and great forestis, so that no man coulde folowe them. Some season, the Englisshemen folowed them so nere, that all day they skrymysshed toguyther; and in a skrymysshe, this said lorde Wylliam Montague lost one of his yen. In the said forest, the olde kyng Robert, of Scotland, dyd kepe hymselfe, whan kyng Edward the fyrst conquered nygh al Scotland; for he was so often chased, that none durst lodge hym in castell, nor fortresse, for feare of the sayd kyng. And ever whan the kyng was returned into Ingland, than he wolde gather together agayn his people, and conquere townes, castells, and forteresses, juste to Berwike, some by bataile, and some by fayre speche and love: and whan the said kyng Edward hard therof, than wolde he assemble his power, and wyn the realme of Scotlande agayn; thus the chaunce went bitwene these two forsaid kyngis. It was shewed me, howe that this kyng Robert wan, and lost his realme v. tymes. So this contynued tyll the sayd kyng Edwarde died, at Berwike: and whan he sawe that he shulde dye, he called before hym his eldest sonne, who was kyng after hym, and there before all the barones, he caused hym to swere, that as soone as he were deed, that he shulde take his body, and boyle it in a caudron, tyl the flesshe departed clene fro the boones, and than to bury the flesshe, and kepe styll the boons; and that as often as the Scottis shuld rebell ayenst hym, he shulde assemble his people ayenst them, and cary with hym the boones of his father; for he beleved verely, that if they had his boones with them, that the Scottis shulde never attayne any victory ayenst them. The whiche thyng was nat accomplisshed, for whan the kyng was deed, his son caried hym to London, and there he was buryed.

[1] *Roxburgh.*

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Howe kyng Philyp of Fraunce and divers other kyngis made a Croysey to the Holy Land.

NOWE let us returne to our first purpose. Whan kyng Philyp returned fro Paris, after that the kyng of Ingland had been there, he went to visyte his realme, and in his company, Loys, the kyng of Behaigne, and the kyng of Naverre, with many dukis, erles, and lordes, for he helde great astate and noble. So he rode through Burgoyn, tyll he came to Avignon, where he was honorably receyved of pope Benedicte, and of all the Colledge, and dyd hym as moche honour as they coulde; and he taried a long space there, and was lodged at Wylnefe,[1] without Avignon. In the same season the kyng of Aragon came to the court of Rome, and ther was great chere and fest made at theyr metyng, and ther they were all the Lent season; and in that season tydyngis came to the court of Rome, that the ennemies of God were greatly strong, and had nygh conquered all the realme of Rase, and takyn the kyng there, who was before become christen, and made hym to dye by a great martyrdome: and also these infidels sore dyd manysshe christendome. And on the Good Fryday, the pope hymselfe preched of the passyon of God, before these kyngis, exortynge them to take on them the Crosse ageynst the Sarazyns; so that the Frenche kyng moved with pite, toke on hym the Crosse, and desired the pope to agree therto. The pope accorded, and confirmed it with his absolucion, de pena et culpa, clene confessed and repentaunt. So thus the kyng toke on hym this voyage, and with hym the kyng Charles of Behaigne, the kyng of Navarre, and kyng Peter of Aragone, with many dukes, erles, barones, knyghtis, and squyers; and also the cardinall of Napoles, the cardinal of Pierregort, the cardinal Blanc, and the cardinall of Ostie. And anon after, this Croisy was preched and publisshed abroode in the worlde: the whiche tydyngis was great pleasure to many lordis, and specially to suche as were in mynde to dyspende their season in dedis of armes.

[1] *Villeneuve.*

Whan the Frenche kyng, and these said lordes, had ben

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a certayn space with the pope, and had devysed and confirmed their entreprise; than they departed fro the courte, and toke their leve; and the kynge of Aragone went into his countrey, and the Frenche kyng in his company, tyll they came to Montpellier, and there taryed a certayn space: and there kyng Philyp of France made a peace bitwene the kyng of Aragon, and the kyng of Mallorques, and than returned into Fraunce by small journeis, at great dispence, and visited his townes and castels, and passed through Auvergne, Berry, Beaulse, and Gastinois, and so came to Paris, wher as he was receyved with great feast and glory. At that tyme, Fraunce was ryche, in great puissaunce, and in good rest and peace, there was no warre spoken of.

This Croisy thus taken by the Frenche kyng, wherof he was as chiefe, there were dyverse lordes in sondrie countreis, by great devotyon, toke on them the same. The French kyng made the grettest apparayle for his voyage that ever was sene, other in Godfray de Boleyns dayes, or any other; and had prepared in certayne portes, as at Marcille, Agwes mortes, at Narbon, and about Mountpellyer, such a nombre of vessels, shyppes, careckes, and galyes, suffycient to passe over lx. M. men of armes, with all their purveaunces, well provyded of bysquet, wyne, fressh water, salt flesshe, and all other thynges necessary for men of warre, to endure thre yeres, if nede were. And the French kyng sent certayn messangers to the kyng of Hungrie, desyringe hym to be redy, and to open the passages of his countre, to receyve the pylgrimes of God; the kyng of Hungrie was gladde therof, and sayd, howe he was all redy. In likewyse the Frenche kyng sent to the kyng of Cyper,[1] and also to the kyng of Sicyll, and to the Venecyans; in lyke maner they answered, that they were redy to obey; and the Genowayes, and all they on the ryver of Geane:[2] and also the kyng sent the great priour of Fraunce to the ysle of Rodes, to prepayre all thynges necessarie in those quarters; and they of the Rodes accorded with the Venecyans, to provyde thynges necessarie in the ysle of Creth, the which was under their sygnorie. Brevely, every countrey was redy prepared to receyve the pylgrimes of God. There were mo than CCC.M. persons that toke on them the crosse, to go in this noble voyage over the see.

[1] *Cyprus.*

[2] *Riviera of Genoa.*

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Howe kyng Edwarde was counselled to make warre agaynst the French kyng.

IN this season, whan this croisy was in gret forwardnesse, for there was no spekyng but therof, syr Robert of Artoies was as than in England, banysshed out of Fraunce, and was ever about kyng Edward; and alwayes he counselled hym to defye the Frenche kyng, who kept his herytages fro hym wrongfully; of the whiche mater the kyng often tymes counselled with them of his secret counsell, for gladly he wolde have had his right, and yf he wyst how. And also he thought, that if he shulde demaunde his ryght, and it refused, what he might do than to amende it. For if he shulde than syt styll, and do nat his devoyre to recover his right, he shulde be more blamed than before: yet he thought it were better to speke nat therof. For he sawe well, that by the puysaunce of his realme, it wolde be harde for hym to subdue the great realme of Fraunce, without helpe of some other gret lordes, outher of the empyre or in other places for his money. The kyng often tymes desyred counsell of his chefe and speciall frendes and counsellours. Fynally, his counsellours answered hym and sayd, Syr, the mater is so weighty, and of so hygh an enterprise, that we dare nat speke therin, nor gyve you any counsell. But syr, this we wolde counsell you to do; sende suffycient messangers, well enfourmed of your intencyon, to therle of Heynaulte, whose doughter ye have maryed, and to syr John of Heynalt, his brother, who hath valyantly served you at all tymes; and desyre them by way of love, that they wolde counsell you in this mater, for they knowe better what parteyneth to suche a mater than we do; and syr, if they agre to your entent, than woll they counsell you what frendes ye may best make. The kyng was content with this answere, and desyred the bysshop of Lyncolne to take on hym this message, and with hym two banerettes, and two doctours: they made them redy, and toke shypping, and aryved at Dunkyrke, and rodde through

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Flaunders, tyll they came to Valencens, where they founde the erle lyeng in his bedde, sycke of the gout, and with him sir John his brother. They were greatly feasted, and declared the cause of their commyng, and shewed all the reasons and doutes that the kynge their maister had made. Than therle sayd, As helpe me God, yf the kynges mynde might be brought to passe, I wolde be right glad therof: for I had rather the welth of hym that hath maryed my doughter, than of hym that never dyd nothyng for me, though I have maryed his suster. And also he dyd let the maryage of the yonge duke of Brabant, who shuld have maryed one of my doughters. Wherfore, I shall nat fayle to ayde my dere and wel beloved sonne, the kyng of England: I shall gyve hym counsell and ayde to the best of my power, and so shall do John my brother, who hath served hym or this. Howe be it he must have more helpe than ours: for Heynalt is but a small countrey, as to the regard of the realme of Fraunce, and Englande is farr of to ayde us. Than the bysshoppe sayd, Syr, we thanke you in our maisters behalfe, of the comfort that ye gyve us: syr, we desyre you to gyve our maister counsell, what frendes he were best to labour unto to ayde hym. Surely sayd therle, I can nat devyse a more puissant prince to ayde hym, than the duke of Brabant, who is his cosyn germayne; and also the bysshoppe of Liege, the duke of Guerles, who hath his suster to his wyfe; the archbysshop of Colayne, the marques of Jullers, syr Arnolde de Baquehen, and the lorde of Faulquemount; these lordes be thei that may make moost men of warre in short space of any that I know: they arre good men of warre, they may well make x. thousand men of warr, so they have wages therafter; they arre people that wolde gladly wynne advauntage. Yf it were so that the kyng my sonne, your maister, might gette these lordes to be on his part, and so to come into these parties, he might well go over the water of Oysse, and seke out kyng Phylippe to fyght with hym. With this answere, these ambassadours retourned into England to the kyng, and reported all that they had done; wherof the kyng had great joy, and was well comforted. These tidyngis came into Fraunce, and multiplied lytle and lytle, so that kyng Phylippes enterprise

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of the sayd croysey beganne to asswage and ware cold; and he countermaunded his offycers to sease of makyng of any farther provision, tyll he knewe more what kyng Edward wolde do. Than kyng Edward ordayned x. banerettes, and xl. other knyghtes, and sent them over the see to Valencennes, and the bysshoppe of Lyncolne with theym, to thentent to treat with the lordes of thempyre, suche as therle of Heynalt had named. Whanne they were comè to Valencennes, eche of them kept a great estate and port, and spared nothynge, no more than yf the kynge of Englande had bene there in proper persone, wherby they dyd gette great renowme and prayse. They had with them yonge bachelars, who had eche of them one of their eyen closedde with a piece of sylke: it was sayd, how they had made a vowe among the ladyes of their contrey, that they wolde nat se but with one eye, tyll they had done some dedes of armes in Fraunce; how be it they wold nat be knowen therof. And whan thei had ben well feested at Valencennes, than the bysshoppe of Lyncolne, and part of his company, went to the duke of Brabant, who feasted them greatly, and agreed, and promysed to sustayne the kyng of Englande and all his company in his contrey; so that he might go and come, armed and unarmed at his pleasure, and to gyve him the best counsell he coude. And also, yf the kynge of Englande wolde defy the Frenche kyng, that he wolde do the same, and entre into the countrey of Fraunce, with men of warre, so that their wages might be borne, to the nombre of a thousande men of armes. Thus than the lordes retourned agayne to Valencennes, and dyd so moch by messangers, and by promyse of golde and sylver, that the duke of Guerles, who was the kynges brother in lawe, and the marques of Jullers, the archebysshoppe of Colayne, and Waleran his brother, and the lorde of Faulquemount came to Valencennes, to speke with these lordes of Englande, byfore the erle of Haynalt, and the lorde John his brother. And by the meanes of a great somme of florens that eche of them shulde have for themselfe, and for their men, they made promyse to defy the Frenche kyng, and to go with the kyng of England whan it pleased hym, with a certayn men of warre; promysinge also, to gette other lordes to

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take their part for wages, such as be beyonde the ryver of Ryne, and be able to bringe good nombres of men of warre. Than the lordes of Almayne[1] toke their leave, and retourned into ther owne contreis; and thenglysshmen taryed styll with therle of Heynalt, and sent certayne messangers to the bysshoppe of Lyege, and wolde gladly have hadde hym on their partie; but he wolde never be agaynst the French kyng, for he was become his man, and entred into his feaultie. Kyng Charles of Behaygne, was nat desyred, for they knewe well he was so fermely joyned with the Frenche kyng, by reason of the maryage of John duke of Normandy, who had to wyfe the kyngis doughter, wherby they knewe well he wold do nothyng agaynst the French kyng.

[1] *Germany.*

CAP. XXIX

Howe that Jaques Dartvell[2] governed all Flaunders.

[2] *d'Arteveld.*

IN this season there was great dyscorde bytwene the erle of Flaunders and the Flemmynges: for they wolde nat obey him, nor he durst nat abyde in Flaunders, but in great parell. And in the towne of Gaunt, there was a man, a maker of honey, called Jaques Dartvell. He was entred into such fortune and grace of the people, that all thynge was done that he dydde; he might commaunde what he wolde through all Flaunders, for ther was non, though he were never so great, that durst disobey his commaundement. He had alwayes goyng with hym up and downe in Gaunt lx. or fourskore varlettes armed, and amonge them, there were thre or foure that knewe the secretnes of his mynde; so that if he mette a parsone that he hated, or had hym in suspectyon, incontynent he was slayne: for he had commaunded his secret varlettes, that whanne soever he mette any persone, and made suche a sygne to theym, that incontynent they shulde slee hym, whatsoever he were, without any wordes or resonynge; and by that meanes he made many to be slayne, wherby he was so doughted, that none durst speke agaynst any thynge that he wolde have done, so that every man was gladde to

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make hym good chere. And these varlettes, whan thei had brought hym home to his house, than they shulde go to dyner where they lyst, and after dyner returne agayne into the strete before his lodgyng, and there abyde tyll he come out, and to wayt on hym tyll souper tyme. These souldyours had eche of them foure grotes Flemmysshe by the day, and were truely payd, wekely. Thus he had in every towne, souldyers, and servauntes at his wages, redy to do his commaundement, and to espy if ther were any person that wolde rebell agaynst his mynde, and to enfourme hym therof; and assone as he knewe any suche, he wolde never cease tyll they were banysshed or slayne, without respyte. All such great men, as knyghtes, squires, or burgesses of good townes, as he thought favourable to therle in any maner, he banysshed them out of Flaunders, and wolde levey the moyte of their landes to his owne use, and thother halfe to their wyves and chyldren, such as were banysshed; of whome there were a great nombre abode at saynt Omers. To speke properly, there was never in Flaunders, nor in none other contrey, prince, duke, nor other, that ruled a countrey so pesably, so long as this Jaques Dartvell dyd rule Flaunders. He levyed the rentes, wynages, and rightes, that pertayned to therle through out all Flaunders, and spended all at his pleasure, without any acompt makyng; and whan he wold say that he lacked money, they byleved hym, and so it behoved them to do, for none durst say agaynst hym; whan he wold borowe any thynge of any burgesse, there was none durst say hym nay. These Englyssh embassadours kept an honourable estate at the towne of Valencennes; they thought it shulde be a great comforte to the kynge their lorde, yf they might gette the Flemmynges to take their part. Than they toke counsell of therle in that mater, and he answered, that truely it shulde be one of the grettest aydes that they coude have: but he sayd, he thought their labour in that behalfe coude nat prevayle, without they gette first the good wyll of Jaques Dartvell. Than they said they wolde assay what they coude do: and so therupon they departed fro Valencennes and went into Flaunders, and departed into thre or foure companies: some went to Bruges, some to Ipre, and some to Gaunt;

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Howe that Jaques Dartvell governed all Flaunders.

and they all kept such port, and made so large dyspence, that it semed that sylver and golde fell out of their handes, and made many great promyses and offers to them, that they spake to for that mater. And the bysshoppe, with a certayne with hym, went to Gaunt, and he dyd so moch, what with fayre wordes, and otherwise, that he gate thacorde of Jaques Dartvell; and dyd gette great grace in the towne, and specially of an olde knyght that dwelt in Gaunt, who was ther right well beloved, called the lorde of Courtisyen,[1] a knight baneret, and was reputed for a hardy knight, and had alwayes served truely his lordes. This knyght dyd moche honour to thenglysshemen, as a valyant knyght ought to do to all strangers. Of this he was accused to the French kyng, who incontynent sent a strayt commaundement to therle of Flaunders, that he shulde send for this sayd knyght, and assone as he had hym, to strike of his hed. Therle who durst nat breke the kynges commanndement, dyd so moch, that this knyght came to hym at his sendyng, as he that thought non yvell: and incontynent he was taken, and his heed stryken of. Wherof many folkes were sorie, and were sore dysplesed with therle, for he was wel beloved with the lordes of the contrey. These Englysshe lordes dyd so moche, that Jaques Dartvell, dyverse tymes, had togyder the counselles of the good townes, to speke of the besynes that these lordes of Englande desyred, and of the fraunchyses and amyties that they offred them in the kyng of Englandes byhalfe. So often they spake of this mater, that fynally they agreed, that the kynge of Englande myght come and go into Flaunders at his pleasure. Howe be it, they sayd they were so sore bounde to the French kyng, that they myght nat entre into the realme of Fraunce to make any warre, without they shulde forfayt a great somme of florens: and so they desyred that they wold be content with this answere, as at that time. Thenglysshe lordes retourned agayne to Valencennes with great joy; often tymes they sent worde to the kyng of Englande how they spedde, and ever he sent theym golde and sylver to bere their charges, and to gyve to the lordes of Almaygne,[2] who desyred nothyng els. In this season the noble erle of Heynalt dyed the vi. day of June, the yere of our lorde,

[1] *Sohier de Courtray.*

[2] *Germany.*

M.CCC.xxxvii. and was buryed at the friers in Valencennes. The bysshoppe of Cambray, sang the masse; ther were many dukes, erles, and barownes: for he was wel beloved, and honoured of all people in his lyfe dayes. After his dyscease, the lorde Wyllyam, his sonne, entred into the counteis of Heynalt, Hollande, and Zelande, who had to wyfe the doughter of duke John of Brabant, and had to name Jahane: she was endowed with the lande of Bynche, the which was a right fayre heritage and a profitable; and the lady Jahan, her mother, went to Fontnels, on Lescault,[1] and ther used the resydue of her lyfe in great devotion in thabbey ther, and dyd many good dedes.

CAP. XXIX
Howe that Jaques Dartvell governed all Flaunders.

[1] *The Scheldt.*

CAP. XXX

How certayne nobles of Flaunders kept the yle of Cagaunt[2] agaynst thenglysshemen.

[2] *Cadsand.*

OF all these ordynaunces and confortes that the kyng of England had get on that syde the see, Kyng Phylippe of Fraunce was well enformed of all the mater, and wolde gladly have had the Flemmynges on his part. But Jaques Dartvell had so surmounted all maner of people in Flaunders that none durst say agaynst his opynion, nor the erle hymselfe durst nat well abyde in the countrey, for he had sent the countesse his wyfe, and Loys his sonne, into Fraunce, for dout of the Flemmynges. In this season, ther were in the yle of Cagant, certayne knyghtes and squyers of Flanders in garyson: as sir Dutres de Haluyn, syr John de Radays,[3] and the sonnes of Lestriefe. They kept that passage agaynst thenglysshmen and made covert warre, wherof thenglysshe lordes beyng in Heynalt, were well enformed, and how that if they went that way homewarde into England, they shulde be met withall to their dyspleasure; wherfore they were nat well assured; howbeit they rode and went about the countrey at their pleasure. All was by the confort of Jaques Dartvell, for he supported and honoured them as moche as he might: and after, these lordes went to Dondrech,[4] in Holande, and ther they toke shypping to eschue the passage of Cagaunt,

[3] *Rodes.*

[4] *Dordrecht.*

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How certayne nobles of Flaunders kept the yle of Cagaunt agaynst thenglysshemen.

wher as the garison was layd for them, by the commaundement of the Frenche kyng: so these Englisshe lordes came agayne into England, as prively as they coude, and came to the kyng, who was right joyouse of their commyng; and whan he harde of the garyson of Cagaunt, he sayd he wolde provyde for them shortly; and anone after, he ordayned therle of Derby, syr Water Manny, and dyverse other knyghtes and squiers, with fyve hundred men of armes, and two thousande archers, and they toke shippyng at London, in the ryver of Tames. The first tyde they went to Gravesende, the next day to Margate, and at the thyrde tyde they toke the see, and sayled into Flaunders. So they aparelled themselfe, and came nere to Cagaunt.

CAP. XXXI

Of the batell of Cagaunt bytwene thenglysshemen and the frenchmen.

WHAN thenglysshmen sawe the towne of Cagaunt before them, they made them redy, and had wynd and tyde to serve them. And so in the name of God and saint George, they approched and blewe up their trumpettes, and set their archers before them, and sayled towarde the towne. They of Cagaunt sawe well this great shyppe aproche: they knewe well they were Englysshmen, and araynged them on the dykes and on the sandes, with their baners before them, and they made xvi. newe knyghtes. They were a fyve thousande men of warr, good knyghtes and squires; ther was sir Guy of Flanders, a good and a sure knyght, but he was a bastarde, and he desyred all his company to do well their devoyre: and also ther was sir Dutres de Hauyn, sir John de Roodes, sir Gyles Lestriefe, sir Symon and syr John of Bonquedent,[1] who were there made knyghtes, and Peter of Anglemonster,[2] with many other knyghtes and squiers, expert men of armes. Thenglysshmen were desyrous to assayle, and the Flemmynges to defend. Thenglysshe archers began to shout, and cryed their cryes, so that suche as kepte the passage, were fayne perforce to recule backe. At this first assaute there were

[1] *Bruquedent.*

[2] *Ingelmunster.*

dyverse sore hurte, and the Englysshmen toke lande, and came and fought hande to hande. The Flemmynges fought valyantly to defende the passage, and thenglysshmen assauted chyvalrously. The erle of Derby was that day a good knyght, and at the first assaute he was so forwarde, that he was stryken to the erth, and than the lorde of Manny dyd hym great confort, for by pure feat of armes, he releved hym up agayne, and brought hym out of paryll, and cryed Lancastre for the erle of Derby. Than they approched on every part, and many were hurt; but mo of the Flemmynges than of the Englysshmen, for the archers shot so holly togyder, that they dyd to the Flemmynges moche damage. Thus in the havyn of Cagant ther was a sore batell, for the Flemmynges were good men of warre, chosen out by the erle of Flaunders, to defende that passage agaynst thenglysshemen. And of Englande, there was the erle of Derby, sonne to the erle Henry of Lancastre with the wry necke, therle of Suffolke, syr Robert[1] Cobham, sir Lewes Byauchampe, sir Wyllyam, sonne to therle of Warwyke, the lorde Bourcher,[2] syr Water Manny, and dyvers other. There was a sore batayle, and well foughten hande to hande: but finally, the Flemmynges were put to the chase, and were slayne mo than thre thousande, what in the havyn, stretes, and houses. Syr Guy the bastarde of Flaunders was taken, and sir Dutres de Haluyn and sir John de Rodes wer slayn, and the two bretherne of Bonquedent, and syr Gyles de Lestrief, and mo than xxvi. knyghtes and squyers; and the towne taken and pylled, and all the goodes and prisoners put into the shippes, and the towne brent. And so thus the Englysshemen retourned into Englande without any damage; the kyng caused sir Guy bastarde of Flanders to swere and to bynde hymselfe prisoner; and in the same yere he became Englysshe, and dyd fayth and homage to the kyng of Englande.

CAP. XXXI

Of the batell of Cagaunt bytwene thenglysshemen and the frenchmen.

[1] *Raynold.*

[2] *Berkeley.*

CAP. XXXII

How kyng Edwarde of England made great alyaunces in the empyre.

AFTER this dysconfeture at Cagaunt,[1] tidynges therof spredde abrode in the countrey. And they of Flaunders sayd, that without reason and agaynst their wylles therle of Flanders had layd there that garyson; and Jaques Dartvell wolde nat it had ben otherwyse, and incontynent he sent messangers to kyng Edwarde, recommendyng hym to his grace with all his hert, counsellyng hym to come thyder, and to passe the see, certyfyenge hym, how the Flemmynges greatly desyred to se hym. Thus the kyng of Englande made great purveyances; and whan the wynter was passed, he toke the see, well accompanyed with dukes, erles, and barownes, and dyvers other knyghtes, and aryved at the towne of Andewarpe,[2] as than pertayninge to the duke of Brabant: thyther came people from all partes to se hym, and the great estate that he kept. Than he sent to his cosyn, the duke of Brabant, and to the duke of Guerles, to the marques of Jullers, to the lorde John of Heynalt, and to all such as he trusted to have any conforte of, sayeng, howe he wolde gladly speke with theym; they came all to Andewarp, bytwene Whytsontyde, and the feest of saynte John. And whan the kyng had well feasted them, he desyred to knowe their myndes, whane they wolde begynne that they had promysed: requirynge them to dyspatche the mater brevely, for that intent, he sayd, he was come thyder, and had all his men redy; and howe it shulde be a great damage to hym to defarre the mater long. These lordes had longe counsell among them, and fynally they sayd, Syr, our commynge hyther as nowe, was more to se you, than for any thynge els: we be nat as nowe, purveyed to gyve you a full answere; by your lycence we shall retourne to our people, and come agayne to you at your pleasure, and thane gyve you so playne an answere, that the mater shall nat rest in us. Than they toke day, to come agayn a thre wekes after the feest of saynt John. The

[1] *Cadsand.*

[2] *Antwerp.*

kynge shewed them what charges he was at, with so longe abyding, thynkinge whan he came thyther that they had ben full purveyd to have made hym a playne answere, sayng howe that he wolde nat returne into England, tyll he had a full answere. So thus these lordes departed, and the kynge taryed in the abbay of saynt Bernarde, and some of the Englysshe lordes taryed styll at Andewarpe, to kepe the kynge company, and some of the other rode about the countrey in great dyspence. The duke of Brabant went to Lovane, and there taryed a long tyme, and often tymes he sent to the Frenche kyng, desyring hym to have no suspecyons to hym, and nat to byleve any yvell informacion made of hym; for by his wyll, he sayd he wold make none alyance, nor covenant agaynst hym: sayeng also, that the kynge of Englande was his cosyn germayne, wherfore he might nat deny hym to come into his countrey.

CAP. XXXII

How kyng Edwarde of England made great alyaunces in the empyre.

The day came that the kyng of Englande loked to have an answere of these lordes: and they excused them, and sayd, howe they were redy and their men, so that the duke of Brabant wold be redy for his part, sayeng, that he was nere than they; and that assone as they might knowe that he were redy, they wolde nat be behynde, but at the begynnyng of the mater, assone as he. Than the kyng dyd so moche, that he spake agayne with the duke, and shewed him the answere of the other lordes, desyring him, by amyte and lynage, that no faut were founde in hym, sayeng, how he parceyved well that he was but cold in the mater, and that without he wer quicker and dyd otherwyse, he douted he shulde lese therby the ayde of all the other lordes of Almayne, through his defaulte. Than the duke sayd, he wolde take counsayle in the mater, and whan he had longe debated the mater, he sayd howe he shulde be as redy as any other, but firste he sayd, he wolde speke agayne with the other lordes; and he dyde sende for them, desyring them to come to hym, wher as they pleased best. Than the day was apoynted about the myddes of August, and this counsell to be at Hale, bycause of the yong erle of Heynalt, who shulde also be ther, and with hym sir John of Heynalt, his uncle. Whane these lordes were all come to this parlyament at Hale, they had longe counsayle

CAP. XXXII

How kyng Edwarde of England made great alyaunces in the empyre.

togyder; finally, they sayd to the kyng of Englande, Syr, we se no cause why we shulde make defyance to the Frenche kyng, all thynges consydred, without ye can gette thagrement of themperour, and that he wolde commaunde us to do so in his name; the emperour may well thus do, for of long tyme past there was a covenant sworne and sealed, that no kyng of Fraunce ought to take any thyng parteyning to thempyre: and this kynge Philyppe hath taken the castell of Crevecure, in Cambreysis, and the castell of Alues,[1] in Pailleull, and the cytie of Cambray; wherfore themperour hath good cause to defye hym by us: therfore sir, if ye can get his acord, our honour shal be the more; and the kyng sayd, he wolde folowe their counsayle. Than it was ordayned, that the Marques of Jullers shulde go to themperour, and certayne knyghtes, and clerkes of the kynges, and some of the counsell of the duke of Gwerles; but the duke of Brabant wolde sende none fro hym, but he lende the castell of Louayne to the kynge of Englande to lye in. And the Marques and his company founde the emperour at Florebetche,[2] and shewed hym the cause of their commyng. And the lady Margarete of Heynault dydde all her payne to further forthe the matter, whom sir Lewes of Bavyer, than emperour, had wedded. And ther the Marques of Jullers was made an erle, and the duke of Guelders, who byfore was an erle, was than made a duke. And themperour gave commyssion to foure knyghtes, and to two doctours of his counsell, to make kyng Edwarde of Englande, his vycarre generall throughout all the empyre; and therof these sayd lordes hadde instrumentes publyke, confyrmed and sealed suffyciently by the emperour.

[1] *Arleux.*

[2] *Nuremberg.*

CAP. XXXIII

Howe kyng Davyd of Scotlande made alyaunce with kyng Phylyppe of Fraunce.

IN this season, the yonge kyng Davyd of Scotlande, who had lost the best part of his lande, and coulde natte recover it out of the holde of thenglysshmen, departed prively with a small company, and the quene his wyfe

with hym, and toke shyppyng, and arryved at Bolayne, and so rodde to Pares, to kyng Philyppe, who gretly dyd feast hym; and offred hym of his castels to abyde in, and of his goodes to dyspende, on the condycion that he shulde make no peace with the kynge of Englande, without his counsell and his agrement; for kyng Philyppe knewe well, howe the kynge of Englande apparelled greatly to make hym warre. So thus the kyng ther retayned kyng Davyd, and the quene, a long season, and they had all that they neded, at his coste and charge: for out of Scotlande came but lytell substance to mayntayne withall their estates. And the French king sent certayne messangers into Scotlande, to the lordes ther, such as kept warr agaynst thenglisshmen, offryng them great ayde and confort, so that they wolde take no peace, nor truse, with the kyng of Englande, without it were by his agrement, or by thaccorde of their owne kyng, who had in likewyse promysed and sworne. Than the lordes of Scotlande counselled togyder, and joyously they accorded to his request, and so sealed and sware with the kyng their lorde. Thus this alyance was made bytwene Scotlande and France, the which endured a long season after. And the frenche kyng sent men of warre into Scotland, to kepe warr agaynst thenglysshmen, as syr Arnolde Dandregien,[1] who was after marschall of Fraunce, and the lorde of Garencieres, and dyverse other knyghtes and squyers. The Frenche kyng thought that the Scottes shuld gyve so moch ado to the realme of England, that thenglysshmen shuld nat come over the see to anoy hym.

CAP. XXXIII Howe kyng Davyd of Scotlande madealyaunce with kyng Phylyppe of Fraunce.

[1] *d'Audrehem.*

CAP. XXXIIII

How kyng Edwarde of England was made vycare generall of thempyre of Almaygne.

WHAN the kyng of England, and the other lordes to hym alyed, wer departed fro the parlyament of Hale, the kyng went to Lovan, and made redy the castell for his abyding, and sent for the quene to come thyder, if it pleased her: for he sent her worde he wolde nat come thens of an hole yere: and sent

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How kyng Edwarde of England was made vycare generall of thempyre of Almaygne.

home certayne of his knyghtes to kepe his lande fro the Scottes. And the other lordes and knyghtes, that were there styll with the kynge, rode aboute the realme of Flanders, and Henalt, makyng grete dyspence, gyveng great rewardes and juels to the lordes, ladyes, and damoselles of the countrey, to get their good wylles. They dyd so moche that they were greatly praysed, and specially of the common people, bycause of the port and state that they kept. And than about the feest of all sayntes, the marques of Jullers, and his company, sent worde to the kyng how they had sped; and the kyng sent to hym, that he shulde be with hym about the feest of saynt Martyne; and also he sent to the duke of Brabant, to knowe his mynde, wher he wolde the parlyament shulde be holde: and he answered at Arques, in the countie of Loz, nere to his countrey. And than the kyng sent to all other of his alyes, that they shulde be there. And so the hall of the towne was apparelled and hanged, as though it had ben the kynges chamber; and there the kyng satte crowned with gold, v. fote hygher than any other: and there openly was redde the letters of themperour, by the which, the kyng was made vycare generall, and lieftenaunt, for the emperour, and had power gyven hym to make lawes, and to mynistre justyce to every person, in themperours name, and to make money of golde and sylver. The emperour also there commaunded by his letters, that all persons of his empyre, and all other his subgiettes, shulde obey to the kyng of England, his vycare, as to hymselfe, and to do hym homage. And incontynent ther was clayme and answere made bytwene parties, as before the emperour, and right and judgement gyven. Also there was renued a judgement, and a statute affermed, that had been made before in the emperours courte, and that was this; that who soever wolde any hurt to other, shuld make his defyance thre dayes byfore his dede, and he that dyde otherwyse, shulde be reputed as an evyll doer, and for a vylans dede. And whan all this was done, the lordes departed, and toke day that they shulde all appere before Cambray, thre wekes after the feest of saynte John, the whiche towne was become Frenche; thus they all departed, and every man went to his owne. And kynge Edwarde,

CAP. XXXIIII

How kyng Edwarde of England was made vycare generall of thempyre of Almaygne.

as vycare of thempyre, went than to Lovayne, to the quene, who was newely come thyder out of Englande, with great noblenesse, and well accompanyed, with ladyes and damosels of Englande; so there the kynge and the quene kepte their house ryght honorably all that wynter, and caused money, golde, and sylver, to be made at Andewarpe, great plentie. Yet for all this, the duke of Brabant lefte nat, but with great dyligence, sent often messangers to kyng Philyppe, as the lorde Loys of Travehen,[1] his chefe counsellour, with dyvers other, ever to excuse hym, for the whiche cause, this knight was oftentymes sent, and at the laste, abode styll in the Frenche court with the kyng, to thentent alwayes to excuse hym agaynst all informacions that myght be made of hym: the which knyght dyd all his devoyre in that behalfe.

[1] *Crainhem.*

CAP. XXXV

Howe kynge Edwarde and all his alyes dyd defye the Frenche kyng.

THUS the wynter passed and somer came, and the feest of saynt John Baptyst aproched: and the lordes of Englande and of Almayne aparelled themselfe to acomplyssh their enterprise; and the Frenche kyng wrought as moch as he coude to the contrary, for he knewe moch of their intentes. Kyng Edwarde made all his provisyon in Englande, and all his men of warr, to be redy to passe the see, incontynent after the feest of saynt John, and so they dyde. Than the kynge went to Vyllenort, and there made his company to be lodged, as many as myght in the towne, and the other without, a long on the ryver syde, in tentes and pavylyons: and ther he taryed fro Maudelyn tyde tyll our lady day in Septembre, abyding wekely for the lordes of thempyre; and specially for the duke of Brabant, on whose commynge all the other abode. And whan the kyng of Englande sawe howe they came nat, he sent great messangers to eche of them, sommonyng them to come, as they had promysed, and to mete with hym at

CAP. XXXV

Howe kynge Edwarde and all his alyes dyd defye the Frenche kyng.

Machlyn, on saynt Gyles day, and than to shewe hym why they had taryed so long. Thus kyng Edwarde lay at Vyllenort,[1] and kepte dayly at his cost and charge, well to the nombre of xvi. hundred men of armes, all come fro thother syde of the see; and x. M. archers, besyde all other provysions; the which was a marveylous great charge, besyde the great rewardes that he had gyven to the lordes, and besyde the great armyes that he had on the see. The Frenche kynge, on his part, had set Genowayes, Normayns, Bretons, Pycardes, and Spanyardes, to be redy on the see, to entre into England, assone as the warr were opened. These lordes of Almayne, at the kyng of Englande somons, came to Machlyn, and with moche besynesse finally they acorded, that the kyng of Englande might well sette forwarde within xv. dayes after: and to thentent that their warr shuld be the more laudable, thei agreed to send their defyances to the French kyng: first, the kyng of England, the duke of Guerles,[2] the marques of Jullers, sir Robert Dartoyse, sir John of Heynalt, the marques of Musse,[3] the marques of Blanquebourc,[4] the lorde of Faulquemont, sir Arnold of Baquehen, the archbysshop of Colayn, sir Galeas,[5] his brother, and al other lordes of thempyre. These defyances were written and sealed by all the lordes, except the duke of Brabant, who sayd he wold do his dede by hymselfe, at tyme convenyent. To bere these defyances into Fraunce, was charged the bysshop of Lyncolne, who bare them to Parys, and dyd his message in suche maner, that he coude nat be reproched nor blamed; and so he had a safe conduct to retourne agayne to his kyng, who was as than at Machlyne.

[1] *Villevorde.*

[2] *Gueldres.*

[3] *Meissen.*

[4] *Brandebourg.*

[5] *Waleran.*

CAP. XXXVI

How sir Water of Manny after the defyances declared, made the first journey into France.

IN the firste weke that the Frenche kyng was thus defyed, sir Water Manny, assone as he knewe it, he gate to hym a xl. speres, and rode through Brabant, nyght and day, tyll he came into Heynalt, and entred into the wode of Blaton, as than nat knowing what he shulde

do; but he had shewed to some of them that were moost privyest about hym, howe he had promysed before ladyes and damoselles, or he came out of Englande, that he wolde be the first that shulde entre into Fraunce, and to gete other towne or castell, and to do some dedes of armes. And than his entent was to ryde to Mortaigne, and to gete it if he might, the which partayned thane to the realme of Fraunce; and soo rode and passed the wode of Blaton, and came in a mornynge before the sonne risyng to Mortaygne, and by adventure he founde the wycket of the gate opynne. Than he alyghtedde with his company and entred in, and dyd sette certayne of his company to kepe the gate, and so went into the hygh strete with his penon before hym, and came to the great towre, but the gate and wycket was fast closed. And whan the watch of the castell harde the brunt, and sawe them, he blewe his horne, and cryed, Treason, treason. Than every man awoke and made them redy, and kept themselfe styll within the castell. Than sir Water of Manny went backe agayne, and dyd set fyre in the strete joyninge to the castell, so that there were a threscore houses brent, and the people sore afrayed, for they wende all to havè been taken. Than sir Water and his company rode backe, streight to Conde, and ther passed the ryver of Hayne; than they rode the way to Valencennes, and coosted on the ryght hande, and came to Denayne, and so went to the abbay, and soo passed forth towarde Bouhaigne,[1] and dyd so moche, that the captayne dyd let them passe thorough by the ryver. Than thei came to a strong castell, parteyning to the bysshoppe of Cambray, called the castell of Thyne,[2] the which sodenly they toke, and the captayne and his wyfe within. And the lorde Manny made a good garyson, and set therin a brother of his, called sir Gyles Manny, who afterwarde dyd moche trouble to the cytie of Cambray, for the castell was within a leage of the towne. Than sir Water Manny retourned into Brabant, to the kynge his soveraygne lorde, whom he founde at Machlyne, and ther shewed hym all that he had done.

CAP. XXXVI

How sir Water of Manny after the defyances declared, made the first journey into France.

[1] *Bouchain.*

[2] *Thun l'Évêque.*

CAP. XXXVII

How that after the sayd defyances made, the Frenchmen entred into England.

ASSONE as kynge Phylyppe knewe that he was defyed of the kyng of England and of his alyes, he reteyned men of warre on every syde; and sent the lord Galoys de la Bausyne,[1] a good knyght of Savoy, into the cyte of Cambray, and made hym captayne ther, and with hym sir Thybalt de Marueyle, and the lorde of Roy; so that they were, what of Savoy and of Fraunce, a ii. hundred speres. And kynge Philyppe sent and seased into his handes the countie of Pontyeu, the which the kyng of Englande had before, by reason of his mother: and also he sent to dyvers lordes of thempyre, as to therle of Heynalt his nevewe, to the duke of Lorrayne, therle of Bar, the bysshop of Metz, the bysshop of Liege, desyryng them that they wolde make no yvell purchase agaynst hym or his realme. The moost part of these lordes answered, howe they wolde do nothyng that shuld be agaynst hym; and the erle of Heynalt wrote unto hym right courtesly, how that he wolde be redy alwayes to ayd hym and his realme agaynst all men: but seyng the kyng of England maketh his warre, as vycare and lyeutenaunt of thempyre, wherfore he said, he might nat refuse to hym his countrey nor his confort, bycause he helde part of his countrey of themperour. And assone as sir Hewe Quyriell, sir Peter Bahuchet, and Barbe Noyre, who lay and kept the streightes bytwene England and Fraunce with a great navy, knewe that the warre was opyn, they came on a Sonday, in the fore noone, to the havyn of Hampton,[2] whyle the people were at masse; and the Normayns, Pycardes, and Spanyerdes entred into the towne, and robbed and pilled the towne, and slewe dyvers, and defowled maydens, and enforced wyves, and charged their vessels with the pyllage, and so entred agayne into their shyppes. And whan the tyde came, they dysancred, and sayled to Normandy, and came to Depe,[3] and there departed, and devyded their boty and pyllages.

[1] *Baume.*

[2] *Southampton.*

[3] *Dieppe.*

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How kyng Edwarde besieged the cyte of Cambray.

THE kyng of England departed fro Machelyne, and went to Brussels, and all his people past on by the towne. Than came to the kynge a xx. M. Almaynes, and the kynge sent and demaunded of the duke of Brabant, what was his entensyon, to go to Cambray, or els to leave it. The duke answered and sayed, that as sone as he knewe that he had besieged Cambray, he wolde come thyder with xii. hundred speres, of good men of warre. Than the kyng went to Nyvell, and there lay one nyght, and the nexte day to Mons, in Heynalt; and there he founde the yong erle of Heynalt, who receyved him joyously. And ever sir Robert of Dartoyse was about the kyng, as one of his prive counsell, and a xvi. or xx. other great lordes and knightes of Englande, the which were ever about the kyng, for his honoure and estate, and to counsell hym in all his dedes. Also with hym was the bysshopp of Lyncolne, who was greatly renomed in this journey both in wysdome and in prowes. Thus thenglysshmen passed forth, and lodged abrode in the countrey, and founde provysion ynough before them for their money; howbeit some payed truly, and some nat. And whan the kyng had taryed two dayes at Mons in Heynalt, thane he went to Valencennes, and he and xii. with hym entred into the towne, and no mo persons. And thyder was come therle of Heynalt, and syr John his uncle, and the lorde of Faguynelles, the lorde of Verchyn, the lorde of Havreth, and dyvers other, who were about therle their lorde. And the kyng and therle went hand in hande to the great hall, which was redy aparelled to receyve them; and as they went up the steares of the hall, the bysshoppe of Lyncolne, who was there present, spake out aloude, and sayd, Wyllyam, bysshoppe of Cambray, I admonysshe you as procurer to the kyng of England, vycare of thempyre of Rome, that ye opyn the gates of the cyte of Cambray, and if ye do nat, ye

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shall forfayt your landes, and we woll entre by force. Ther was none that answered to that mater, for the bysshopp was nat there present. Than the bysshopp of Lyncolne sayd agayn, Erle of Heynault, we admonysshe you in the name of themperour, that ye come and serve the kyng of England, his vycare, before the cyte of Cambray, with suche nombre as ye ought to do. Therle who was ther present, sayd, With a right good wyll I am redy. So thus they entred into the hall, and therle ledde the kyng into his chambre, and anon the supper was redy. And the next day the king departed, and went to Aspre, and ther taryed ii. dayes, and suffred all his men to passe forth; and so than went to Cambray, and loged at Wys, and besieged the cyte of Cambray rounde about; and dayly his power encreased. Thyder came the yong erle of Heynalt in great array, and syr John his uncle, and they lodged nere to the kyng, and the duke of Guerles, and his company, the marques of Musse, therle of Mons, the erle of Sauynes,[1] the lorde of Falquemont, sir Arnolde of Bouquehen,[2] with all thother lordes of thempyre, suche as were alyed with the kyng of Englande. And the sixt day after the siege layd, thyder came the duke of Brabant, with a ix. hundred speres, besyde other, and he lodged toward Ostrenan, on the ryver of Lescaut, and made a bridge over the water, to thentent to go fro the one hoost to the other. And assone as he was come, he sent to defye the Frenche kyng, who was at Compyengne, wherof Loys of Travehen, who had alwayes before excused the duke, was so confused, that he wold no more returne agayne into Brabant, but dyed for sorowe in Fraunce. This sege durynge, ther were many skirmysshes; and sir John of Heynalt, and the lorde of Falquemont, rode ever lightly togyder, and brent and wasted sore the countrey of Cambresys. And on a day, these lordes, with the nombre of v. C. speres, and a M. of other men of warr, came to the castell of Doisy, in Cambresys, pertayning to the lord of Coucy, and made ther a great assaut; but they within dyd defende them so valyantly, that thei had no damage; and so the sayd lordes retourned to their lodgynges. Therle of Heynalt and his company, on a Saturday, came to the gate towarde saynt Quyntines, and made ther a great

[1] *Salm.*
[2] *Bakehem.*

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assaut. Ther was John Chandos, who was than but a squier, of whose prowes this boke speketh moch, he cast hymselfe bytwene the barrers and the gate, and fought valyantly with a squyer of Vermandoys called Johanne of saynt Dager;[1] ther was goodly feats of armes done bytwene them. And so the Heynows conquered by force the baylles, and ther was entred therle of Heynalt and his marshals, sir Gararde of Verchyne, syr Henry Dantoyng, and other, who adventured them valyantly to advaunce their honour. And at an other gate, called the gate Robert, was the lord Beamonde, and the lorde of Falquemont, the lorde Danghyen, sir Wyllyam[2] of Manny and their companys made ther a sore and hard assaute. But they of Cambray, and the soudyers set there by the French kyng, defended themselfe and the cyte so valyantly, that thassauters wan nothyng, but so retourned right wery and well beaten to their logynges. The yong erle of Namure came thyder to serve the yong erle of Heynalt by desyre, and he sayd he wolde be on their part as long as they were in thempyre; but assone as they entred into the realme of Fraunce, he sayd, he wolde forsake them and go and serve the French kyng who had retayned hym. And in likewyse so was thentent of therle of Heynalt, for he had commaunded all his men on payne of dethe that none of them shulde do any thyng within the realme of Fraunce. In this season, whyle the kyng of England lay at siege byfore Cambray with xl. M. men of armes and greatly constrayned them by assautes, kyng Philyp made his somons at Peron, in Varmandoys. And the kyng of England counselled with sir Robert Dartoys, in whome he had great affyance, demaundyng of hym whyther it were better for hym to entre into the realme of Fraunce, and to encounter his adversary, or els to abyde styll byfore Cambray, tyll he had won it biforce. The lordes of England and such other of his counsell sawe well howe the cyte was strong, and well furnysshed of men a warr, and vytels, and artylary, and that it shuld be long to abyde ther tyll they had wonne the cytie, wherof they were in no certentie; and also they sawe well how that wynter aproched nere, and as yet had done no maner of entreprise, but lay at gret expence. Than they counselled the kynge to set forwarde into the realme, wher

[1] *Dizier.*

[2] *Sir Walter.*

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as they might fynde more plentie of forage. This counsell was taken, and all the lordes ordayned to dyslodge, and trussed tentes, and pavylions, and all maner of harnes, and so departed, and rode towarde mount saynt Martyn, the which was at thentre of Fraunce. Thus they rode in good order, every lorde among his owne men: marshals of thenglysshe hoost were therle of Northampton and Glocetter, and therle of Suffolke, and constable of Englande was the erle of Warwyke. And so they passed ther the ryver of Lescault,[1] at their ease. And whan therle of Heynalt had acompanyed the kyng unto the departyng out of thempyre, and that he shuld passe the ryver, and entre into the realme of Fraunce, then he toke leave of the kyng, and sayd howe he wolde ryde no farther with hym at that tyme, for kyng Philyppe his uncle had sent for hym, and he wolde nat have his yvell wyll, but that he wold go and serve hym in Fraunce, as he had served the kyng of England in thempyre. So thus therle of Heynalt and therle of Namure and their companyes rode backe to Quesnoy. And therle of Heynalt gave the moost part of his company leave to depart, desyringe them to be redy whan he sende for them, for he sayd that shortly after he wolde go to kyng Philyppe his uncle.

[1] *Scheldt.*

CAP. XXXIX

How kyng Edward made sir Henry of Flaunders knyght.

ASSONE as kyng Edward had passed the ryver of Lescaute and was entred into the realme of Fraunce, he called to hym sir Henry of Flanders, who was as than a yong squier, and there he made hym knyght; and gave hym yerely CC. li. sterlyng, sufficiently assigned hym in England. Than the kyng went and lodged in thabbey of mount saint Martyn, and ther taryed two dayes, and his people abrode in the countrey; and the duke of Brabant was lodged in thabbey of Vaucellez.

Whan the French kyng, beyng at Compiengne, harde these tydynges, than he enformed his somones, and sent the erle of Ewe and of Gynes, his constable, to saynt Quyntines, to

kepe the towne and fronters ther agaynst his ennemies, and sent the lorde of Coucy into his owne contrey, and the lorde of Hem[1] to his; and sent many men of armes to Guyse and to Rybemont, to Behayne[2] and the fortresses joynyng to thentre of the realme; and so went hymselfe towarde Peron. In the meane season that kyng Edward lay at thabbey of mount saynt Martyn, his men ran abrode in the contrey to Bapaume, and nere to Peron, and to saynt Quyntines. They founde the contrey plentyfull, for ther had ben no waar of a long season; and so it fortuned that syr Henry of Flanders, to avance his body, and to encrease his honour, [went] on a day with other knyghtis, wherof sir John of Heynalt was chefe, and with hym the lorde of Falquemont, the lorde of Bergues, the lorde of Vaudresen, the lorde of Lens, and dyvers other, to the nombre of v. C; and they avysed a towne therby called Honnecourt, wherin moch peple wer gadered on trust of the fortresses, and therin they had conveyed all their goods; and ther had ben syr Arnolde of Baquehen, and syr Wyllyam of Dunor,[3] and their company, but they attayned nothyng ther. Ther was at this Honnycourt an abbot of great wysdome and hardynes, and he caused to be made without the towne a barrers overthwart the strete lyke a grate, nat past half a fote wyde every grate: and he made great provisyons of stones and quicke lyme, and men redy to defende the place. And these lordes, whan they came thyder, they lighted afote, and entred to the barrers with their glevys in their handes, and ther began a sore assaut, and they within valyantly defended themselfe. Ther was thabbot hymselfe, who receyved and gave many great strokes: ther was a ferse assaut; they within cast downe stones, peces of tymbre, pottes full of chalke, and dyd moche hurt to thassaylers. And syr Henry of Flanders, who helde his glayve in his handes, and gave therwith great strokes: at the last thabbot toke the gleve in his handes, and drewe it so to hym, that at last he set handes on syr Henres arme, and drewe it so sore, that he pulled out his arme at the barrers to the shulder, and helde hym at a great avauntage, for and the barrers had ben wyde ynough, he had drawen hym through; but syr Henry wolde nat let his wepon go for savyng of his honour. Than thother

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[1] *Ham.*

[2] *Bohain.*

[3] *Duvenvoorde.*

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knyghtis strake at thabbot, to rescue their felowe: so this wrastlyng endured a long space; but fynally the knyght was rescued, but his gleave abode with thabbot. And on a day, whan I wrot this boke, as I past by, I was shewed the gleave by the monkes ther, that kept it for a treasur. So this sayd day, Honnycourt was sore assayled, the which indured tyll it was nyght, and dyverse wer slayne and sore hurt. Syr Johann of Heynault lost there a knyght of Hollande, called sir Herment. Whan the Flemynges, Heynowes, Englysshmen, and Almaygnes sawe the fierce wylles of them within, and sawe howe they coulde gette nothynge there, withdrewe themselfe agaynst nyght. And the next day on the mornyng, the kyng departed fro mount saynt Martayn, commaundynge that no person shulde do any hurt to the abbey, the which commaundement was kept. And so than they entred into Vermandoys, and toke that day their lodgyng betymes on the mount saynt Quintyne, in good order of batayle; and they of saynt Quyntines myght well se them; howbeit they had no desyre to yssue out of their towne. The fore ryders came rynnynge to the barrers skyrmyshyng, and the hoost taryed styll on the mount tyll the next day. Than the lordes toke counsell what way they shulde drawe, and by thadvyce of the duke of Brabant, they toke the way to Thyerasse,[1] for that way their provisyon came dayly to them, and were determyned, that if kyng Phylyppe dyd folowe them, as they supposed he wolde do, that than they wolde abyde hym in the playne felde, and gyve hym batayle. Thus they went forthe in thre great batayls: the marshalles and the Almaygnes had the first, the kynge of Englande in the myddle warde, and the duke of Brabant in the rerewarde. Thus they rodde forthe, brennynge and pyllynge the countrey, a thre or foure leages a day, and ever toke their logynge betymes. And a company of Englysshmen and Almaygnes passed the ryver of Somme by the abbey of Vermans, and wasted the countrey al about; another company, wherof sir Johann of Heynalt, the lorde Faulquemont, and sir Arnold of Bacquehen were chefe, rode to Origny saynt Benoyste, a good towne, but it was but easely closed: incontynent it was taken by assaut and robbed, and an abbey of ladyes vyolated, and the towne

[1] *Thierache.*

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brent. Than they departed and rode towarde Guys and Rybemont, and the kynge of Englande lodged at Vehories, and ther taryed a day, and his men ranne abrode and dystroyed the countrey. Than the kynge toke the way to the Flammengerie, to come to Lesche,[1] in Thyerasse; and the marshals, and the bysshoppe of Lyncolne, with a fyve hunderd speres, passed the ryver of Trysague, and entred into Laonnoys, towarde the lande of the lorde of Coucy, and brent saynt Gouven,[2] and the towne of Marle, and on a nyght lodgedde in the valley besyde Laon: and the nexte day they drewe agayne to their hoost, for they knewe by some of their prisoners that the Frenche kyng was come to saynt Quyntines, with a C. thousand men, and there to passe the ryver of Somme. So these lordes in their retournynge brent a good towne called Crecy, and dyverse other townes and hamelettes ther about.

[1] *l'Eschelle.*

[2] *Saint-Gobain.*

Now let us speke of syr John of Heynalt and his company, who were a fyve hundred speres. He came to Guys, and brent all the towne, and bette downe the mylles; and within the fortresses was the lady Jane, his owne doughter, wyfe to therle of Bloys, called Lewes: she desyred her father to spare therytage of the erle, his son in lawe: but for all that, sir John of Heynalt wolde nat spare his enterprise; and so than he retourned agayne to the kyng, who was lodged in thabbey of Sarnaques;[3] and ever his peple ran over the countrey. And the lorde of Falquemont, with a C. speres, came to Lonnion, in Thyerasse, a great towne, and the men of the towne were fled into a great wood, and had all their goodes with them, and had fortifyed the wood with fellyng of tymbre about them. The Almayns rode thyder, and there mette with them, Sir Arnolde of Baquehen, and his company, and so ther they assayled them in the wood, who defendyd them as well as they might: but finally, they were conquered and put to flight; and ther wer slayne and sore hurt mo than xl. and lost all that they had. Thus the contrey was over ryden, for they dyd what they lyst.

[3] *Fervaques.*

CAP. XL

Howe the kyng of Englande, and the French kyng toke day of journey to fight togyder.

THE kyng of Englande departed fro Sarnaques, and went to Muttrell,[1] and ther lodged a nyght, and the next day he went to the Flamengery, and made all his men to loge nere about hym, wherof he had mo than xl. thousande, and there he was counselled to abyde kyng Philyppe, and to fyght with hym. The French kyng departed fro saynt Quyntines, and dayly men came to hym fro all partes, and so came to Vyronfosse. There the kyng taryed, and sayd howe he wold nat go thens, tyll he had fought with the kynge of Englande, and with his alyes, seyng they were within two leages toguyther. And whan therle of Heynalt, who was at Quesnoy, redy purveyed of men a warr, knewe that the Frenche kyng was at Vyronfosse, thynkyng there to gyve batayle to thenglysshmen, he rode forthe tyll he came to the French hoost, with v. C. speres, and presented hymselfe to the kyng, his uncle, who made hym but small cher, bycause he had ben with his adversary before Cambray. Howe be it the erle excused hymselfe so sagely, that the kynge and his counsayle were well content. And it was ordayned by the marshals, that is to say by the marshall Bertrame, and by the marshall of Try, that the erle shulde be lodged next the Englysshe hoost.

[1] *Montreuil.*

Thus these two kynges were lodged bytwene Vyronfosse and Flamengery, in the playne feldes without any advauntage. I thynke ther was never sene before so goodly an assemble of noble men togyder, as was there. Whanne the kynge of England beyng in the chapell of Thyerasse, knewe how that king Philyppe was within two leages, than he called the lordes of his host togyder, and demaunded of them what he shulde do, his honour saved, for he sayd that his entencyon was to gyve batayle. Than the lordes behelde eche other, and they desyredde the duke of Brabant to shewe first his entent. The duke said, that he was of the accorde that they shulde gyve batayle, for otherwyse, he sayd, they coude nat

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depart, savyng their honours: wherfore he counsayled that they shulde sende harauldes to the Frenche kyng, to demaunde a day of batayle. Than an haraulde of the duke of Guerles,[1] who coude well the langage of Frenche, was enformed what he shuld say, and so he rode tyll he came into the Frenche hoost. And than he drewe hym to kynge Philyppe, and to his counsaile, and sayd, Syr, the kynge of Englande is in the felde, and desyreth to have batell, power agaynst power. The whiche thyng kyng Philyppe graunted, and toke the day, the Friday next after: and as than it was Wednisday. And so the haraude retourned, well rewarded with good furred gownes, gyven hym by the French kyng, and other lordes, bycause of the tidynges that he brought. So thus the journey was agreed, and knowledge was made therof to all the lordes of bothe the hoostes, and so every man made hym redy to the matter. The Thursday in the mornyng there were two knyghtes of therle of Heynaultes, the lorde Sanguinelles,[1] and the lorde of Tupeney; they mounted on their horses, and they two all onely departed fro the Frenche hoost, and rode to aviewe the Englyssh hoost. So they rode costyng the hoost, and it fortuned that the lorde of Sanguynelles horse toke the bridell in the tethe, in suche wyse, that his maister coud nat rule hym; and so whyther he wolde or nat, the horse brought hym into thenglysshe hoost, and there he fell in the handes of the Almaynes, who perceyved well that he was none of their company, and set on hym, and toke hym and his horse; and so he was prisoner to a fyve or sixe gentylmen of Almayne: and anone they set hym to his raunsome. And whan they understode that he was a Haynowe, they demaunded of hym if he knewe syr John of Heynalt, and he answered Yes, and desyred them for the love of God to bring hym to his presens, for he knewe well that he wolde quyte hym his raunsome; therof were the Almaygns joyous, and so brought hym to the lorde Beaumounde, who incontynent dyde pledge hym out fro his maisters handes: and the lorde of Sanguynelles retourned agayne to therle of Heynalt, and he had his horse agayne, delyvered hym at the request of the lorde Beamond. Thus passed that day, and none other thynge done that ought to be remembered.

[1] *Fagnolle.*

CAP. XLI

How these kynges ordayned their batayls at Vyronfosse.

WHAN the Friday came in the mornyng, both hoostes aparelled themselfe redy, and every lorde harde masse among their owne companyes, and dyvers wer shriven.

First we woll speke of thorder of thenglysshmen, who drewe them forwarde into the felde, and made iii. batels a fote, and dyd put all their horses, and bagages, into a lytell wood behynde them, and fortefyed it. The first batell, ledde the duke of Guerles, the marques of Nusse, the marques of Blaquebourc, sir John of Heynalt, therle of Mons, therle of Sauynes, the lorde of Faulquemont, sir Guyllam du Fort, sir Arnolde of Baquehen, and the Almayns: and amonge them was xxii. banners, and lx. penons in the hole, and viii. M. men. The seconde batayle had the duke of Brabant, and the lordes and knyghtes of his countrey; first, the lorde of Kusse,[1] the lorde Bergues, the lorde of Bredangh,[2] the lorde of Rodes, the lorde of Vaucelare, the lorde of Borgnyvall, the lorde of Stonnevort, the lorde of Wyten, the lorde of Elka, the lorde of Cassebegne, the lorde of Duffle, syr Thyrre of Valcourt, syr Rasse of the Grez, syr John of Cassebegne, syr John Filyfe, syr Gyles of Coterebe, syr Water of Hotebergue, the thre bretherne of Harlebecque, syr Henry of Flaunders, and dyverse other barownes, and knyghtes, of Flanders, who were all under the duke of Brabrantes baner: as the lorde of Hallayne, the lorde of Guyten, sir Hector Vyllains, sir John of Rodes, syr Valflart of Guystell, syr Wyllyam of Strates, syr Goswin de la Mule, and many other; the duke of Brabant had a xxiiii. baners, and lxxx. penons, and in all a vii. M. men. The iii. bataile, and the grettest, had the kyng of Englande, and with hym his cosyn therle of Derby, the bysshoppe of Lyncolne, the bysshopp of Durame, therle of Salysbury, the erle of Northamton and of Glocetter, therle of Suffolke, sir Robert Dartoyse, as than called erle of Rychmont, the lorde

[1] *Cuyk.*
[2] *Breda.*

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How these kynges ordayned their batayls at Vyronfosse.

Raynolde Cobham, the lorde Persy, the lorde Roose, the lord Montbray,[1] sir Lewes and sir John Beauchampe, the lorde Dalawarr, the lorde of Laucome,[2] the lorde Basset, the lorde Fitzwater, sir Water Manny, sir Hewe Hastynges, sir John Lyle, and dyvers other that I can nat name: among other was syr John Chandos, of whom moche honour is spoken in this boke. The kyng had with hym xxviii. baners, and lxxxx. penons, and in his batayle a vi. M. men of armes, and vi. M. archers; and he had set an other batell, as in a wyng, wherof therle of Warwyke, therle of Penbroke, the lorde Barkley, the lorde Multon, and dyverse other were as cheyfe, and they wer on horsbacke. Thus whane every lorde was under his banner, as it was commaunded by the marshals, the kynge of England mounted on a palfray, acompanyed all onely with sir Robert Dartoyse, sir Raynolde Cobham, and syr Water of Manny, and rode along before all his batels, and right swetely desyred all his lordes and other, that they wolde that day ayde to defende his honoure. And they all promysed hym so to do. Than he returned to his owne batell, and set every thing in good order, and commaunded that non shuld go before the marshals baners.

[1] *Mowbray.*
[2] *Langton.*

Nowe let us speke of the lordes of Fraunce, what they dyd. They were xi. score baners, iiii. kynges, vi. dukes, xxvi. erles, and mo than iiii. M. knyghtes, and of the commons of Fraunce mo than lx. M. The kynges that were ther with kyng Philyppe of Valoys, was the kyng of Behayne, the kyng of Naverr, and kyng Davyd of Scotland; the duke of Normandy, the duke of Bretayne, the duke of Burbon, the duke of Lorrayne, and the duke of Athenes; of erles: therle of Alanson, brother to the kyng, the erle of Flaunders, therle of Heynalt, the erle of Bloys, therle of Bare, therle of Forestes, therle of Foyz, therle of Armynacke, the erle Dophyn of Auvergne, therle of Longvyle,[3] therle of Stampes, therle of Vandosme, therle of Harrecourt, therle of saynt Pol, therle of Guynes, therle of Bowlongue, therle of Roussy, therle of Dampmartyn, therle of Valentynois, therle of Aucer,[4] therle of Sancerre, therle of Genve,[5] the erle of Dreux, and of Gascongne and of Languedoc so many erles and vycuntes, that it were long to reherse: it was a great beauty to beholde the baners and standerdes wavyng

[3] *Joinville.*
[4] *Auxerre.*
[5] *Geneva.*

CAP. XLI
How these kynges ordayned their batayls at Vyronfosse.

in the wynde, and horses barded, and knyghtes and squyers richely armed. The Frechemen ordayned thre great batayls, in eche of them fyftene thousand men of armes, and xx. M. men a fote.

CAP. XLII

Howe these two kynges departed fro Vironfosse without batayle.

IT might well be marveyledde howe so goodly a sight of men of warr, so nere togyder, shulde depart without batayle. But the Frenchmen were nat all of one acorde; they were of dyvers opynyons; some sayed it were a great shame and they fought nat, seyng their ennemys so nere them in their owne countre, raynged in the felde, and also had promysed to fyght with them: and some other sayd it shulde be a great folly to fyght, for it was harde to knowe every mannes mynde, and jeopardy of treason: for they sayd, if fortune were contrary to their kyng as to lese the felde, he than shuld put all his hole realme in a jeopardy to be lost; and though he dyd dysconfet his ennemes, yet for all that, he shuld be never the nerer of the realme of Englande, nor of such landes parteynyng to any of those lordes that be with hym alyed. Thus in strivyng of dyvers opynions, the day past tyll it was past noone; and than sodenly ther started an hare among the Frenchmen; and suche as sawe her cryed and made gret bruit, wherby suche as were behynde thought they before had ben fightynge, and so put on their helmes, and toke their speres in their handes. And so ther were made dyvers newe knyghtes, and specially therle of Heynalt made xiiii. who wer ever after called knyghtes of the hare. Thus that batell stode styll all that Friday; and besyde this stryfe bytwene the counsellours of France, ther was brought in letters to the hoost of recommendacion to the Frenche kyng and to his counsell, fro kyng Robert of Cicyle, the which kyng, as it was sayd, was a great astronomyer, and full of great science. He had often tymes sought his bokes on thestate of the kynges of England and of France; and he founde by his astrology, and by thenfluens of the hevens, that if the French kyng ever

fought with kyng Edwarde of England, he shuld be discomfited: wherfore he lyke a king of gret wysdome, and as he that doubted the peryll of the Frenche kyng his cosyn, sent often tymes letters to king Philyppe and to his counsayle, that in no wyse he shulde make any batayle agaynst thenglysshmen, where as kyng Edwarde was personally present. So that what for dout and for such writyng fro the kyng of Cecyle, dyvers of the great lordes of Fraunce were sore abasshed: and also kynge Philyppe was enfourmed therof. Howe be it, yet he had great wyll to gyve batayle; but he was so counselled to the contrary, that the day passed without batell, and every man withdrue to their lodgynges. And whan the erle of Heynalt sawe that they shulde nat fight, he departed withall his hole company, and went backe the same nyght to Quesnoy. And the kyng of Englande, the duke of Brabant, and all the other lordes retourned and trussed all their bagagis, and went the same nyght to Davesnes, in Heynalt. And the next day they toke leave eche of other; and the Almayns and Brabances departed, and the kynge went into Brabant with the duke his cosyn. The same Friday that the batell shulde have ben, the French kynge, whan he came to his lodgyng, he was sore dyspleased, bycause he departed without batayle. But they of his counsayle sayd, howe right nobly he had borne hymselfe, for he had valyantly pursued his ennemies, and had done so moche that he had put them out of his realme; and how that the kyng of Englande shulde make many such vyages, or he conquered the realme of Fraunce. The next day kyng Philyppe gave lycence to all maner of men to depart, and he thanked right courtesly the gret lordes, of their ayde and socour. Thus ended this great journey, and every man went to their owne. The Frenche kynge went to saynt Omers, and sent men of warre to his garysons, and specially to Tourney, to Lysle, and to Doway, and to the other townes marchyng on thempyre; he sent to Tourney syr Godmart Dufay, and made hym captayne there, and regent of that countrey ther about; and he sent syr Edwarde of Beaugewe to Mortayne; and whan he had ordred part of his besynes, than he drewe towarde Parys.

CAP. XLII

Howe these two kynges departed fro Vironfosse without batayle.

CAP. XLIII

How kyng Edwarde toke on hym to bere the armes of Fraunce, and the name to be called kyng therof.

WHAN that kynge Edwarde was departed fro the Flamengery and came into Brabant, and went streight to Brussels, the duke of Guerles, the duke of Jullers, the marques of Blanquebourc, the erle of Mons, syr John of Haynalt, the lorde of Faulquemont, and all the lordes of thempyre, suche as had ben at that journay, brought hym thyder to take advyce and counsell what shulde be done more in the mater that they had be gone. And to have expedycion in the cause, they ordayned a parlyament to be holden at the towne of Brussels; and thyder to come was desyred Jaques Dartvell, of Gaunt, who came thyder with a great company, and al the counsels of the good townes of Flaunders. Ther the kyng of England was sore desyred of all his alyes of thempyre, that he shulde requyre them of Flanders to ayde and to mentayne his warr, and to defy the French kyng, and to go with him wher as he wolde have them; and in their so doyng, he to promyse them to recover the Isle,[1] Doway and Bethayne.[2] This request was well hard of the Flemynges; and therupon they desyred to take counsell among themselfe; and so they toke counsell at good leaser: and than they sayd to the kyng, Syr, or this tyme ye have made to us request in this behalfe: syr, if we myght well doo this, savyng your honour, and to save ourselfe, we wolde gladly do this; but, syr, we be bounde by faith and othe, and on the somme of two myllyons of floreyns in the popes chaumbre, that we may make nor move no warre agaynst the kynge of Fraunce, whosoever it be, on payne to lose the sayd somme, and besyde that, to ryn in the sentence of cursyng; but, syr, if ye wyll take on you the armes of Fraunce, and quarter them with the armes of Englande, and call your selfe kyng of Fraunce, as ye ought to be of ryght, than we woll take you for rightfull kyng of Fraunce, and demaunde of you quytance of our

[1] *Lille*
[2] *Bethune.*

bondes: and so ye to gyve us pardon therof as king of France; by this meanes we shal be assured and dyspensed withall; and so than we wyll go with you whyder soever ye wyll have us. Than the kyng toke counsell, for he thought it was a sore matter to take on hym the armes of France and the name, and as than had conquered nothing therof, nor coud nat tell what shuld fall therof, nor whyder he shuld conquere it or nat: and on thother syde, loth he was to refuse the confort and ayde of the Flemynges, who myght do hym more ayde than any other. So the kyng toke counsell of the lordis of thempyre, and of the lorde Robert Dartoyse, and with other of his specyall frendes; so that finally the good and the yvell wayed. He answered to the Flemmynges, that if they wolde swere and seale to this accorde, and to promyse to mentayne his warre, howe he wolde do all this with a good wyll, and promysed to gette them agayne Lyle, Doway, and Bethayn: and all they answered howe they were content. Than there was a day assigned to mete at Gaunt, at which day the kynge was there, and the moost part of the sayd lordes and all the counsayls generally in Flaunders. And so than, all this sayd maters were rehersed, sworne, and sealed: and the king quartred the armes of Fraunce with Englande: and from thens forthe toke on hym the name of the kynge of Fraunce, and so contynued tyll he lefte it agayne by composicyon, as ye shall here after in this boke. And so at this counsayle they determyned that the next somer after, they wold make great warre into Fraunce, promysing to besiege the cytie of Tourney; wherof the Flemmynges were joyfull, for thei thought to be strong ynough to gete it; and that ones goten, they beleved shortly after to wynne agayne Lysle, Doway, and Bethayne, with thappurtenaunces partayning or holden of therle of Flaunders.

CAP. XLIII

How kyng Edwarde toke on hym to bere the armes of Fraunce.

Thus every man departed and went home: the kynge of Englande went to Andwarpe, and the quene abode styll at Gaunt, and was often tymes vysited by Jaques Dartvell, and by other lordes, ladyes, and damosels of Gaunt. The kyng left in Flaunders therle of Salysbury, and therle of Suffolke; they went to Ipre, and ther kept a great garyson, and made sore warre agaynst them of Lysle, and thereabout. And

CAP. XLIII

How kyng Edwarde toke on hym to bere the armes of Fraunce.

whan the kynges shyppes were redy, he toke the see, and so sayled into Englande, and came to London about the feest of saynt Andrewe, where he was honourably receyved. And ther he had complayntes made hym of the dystruction of Hampton: and he sayd that he trusted or a yere lenger that it shulde be well revenged.

CAP. XLIIII

How the Frenchmen brent in the landes of syr John of Heynault.

NOWE lette us speke of kyng Philyppe, who greatly fortifyed his navy that he hadde on the see, wherof syr Kiry,[1] Bahuchet, and Barbe Noyre were captayns; and thei had under them a great retynue of Genowayes, Normayns, Bretons, and Pycardes. They dyd that wynter great damage to the realme of Englande: somtyme they came to Dover, Sandwyche, Wynchelse, Hastynges, and Rye, and dyd moche sorowe to thenglysshe men, for they were a great nombre as a xl. M. men. Ther was none that coude yssue out of Englande, but they were robbed, taken, or slayne; so they wan great pyllage, and specially they wan a great shyppe called the Christofer, laden with wolles, as she was goyng into Flaunders, the which shyppe had coost the kynge of Englande moch money; and all they that were taken within the shyppe were slayne and drowned: of the which conquest the Frenchmen were ryght joyeouse. The Frenche kyng than sent and wrote to the lorde of Beamont, the lorde of Breme, to the Vidame of Chalon, the lorde John de la Boue, the lorde John and Gararde of Loyre, that they shulde make an army, and to ryde into the landis of syr John of Heynalt, and to burne and dystroy there asmoche as they might. They obeyd, and gathered togyder to the nombre of v. C. speres; and so in a mornynge they came before the towne of Simay,[2] and gathered togyder there a gret pray; for they of the countrey thought that the Frenchmen wolde nat a come so farre, nor to have passed the wode of Thyrach. So the Frenchmen burnt the subarbes of Simay, and dyverse other vyllages there about, nygh all the

[1] *Quieret.*

[2] *Chimay.*

lande of Simay, except the fortresses; than they went to Aubenton, in Thyerach, and ther devyded their boty. In the same season the soudyours of Cambray came to a lytell strong house without Cambray, called Relenques, pertayning to syr John of Haynalt: and a bastarde sonne of his kept the house, with a xv. soudyours with hym; so they were assayled a hole day togyder, and the dykes were so frosen, that a man might well come to the walles; and so they within trussed all that they had, and about mydnight departed, and set fyre themselfe on the house. The next day, whan they of Cambray came thyder agayne, and sawe howe it was brent, they dyd bete downe all that stode; and the capitayne of the house and his company went to Valencennes. Ye have well harde byfore howe sir Gualter of Manny toke the castell of Thyne, and set therin a brother of his, called Gyles of Manny: he made many skirmysshes with them of Cambray, and dyd them moch trouble. And so it hapened on a day, that he went fro his garyson with a sixscore men of armes, and came to the barrers of Cambray; and the brunt was so great, that many armed them within the cyte, and came to the gate wher as the skirmyssh was; wher as sir Gyles had put backe them of Cambray. Than they yssued out, and among the Cambreses ther was a yong squyer, a Gascoyne, called Wyllyam Marchant, who went out into the felde well horsed, his shelde about his necke, and his spere in his hande. And whan sir Gyles of Manny sawe him, he rode fiersly to hym; and ther sir Gyles was stryken through all his harnes to the hert, so that the spere went clene through his body, and so he fell to the erth. Than ther was a fyers skirmysshe, and many stryken downe on bothe partes; but finally they of Cambray obtayned the place, and drewe away their ennemies, and toke with them sir Gyles of Manny, hurt as he was, and so brought hym to Cambray with great joye. Than incontynent they dysarmed hym, and dyd gette surgions to dresse his wound, for they wold gladly that he might escaped; but he dyed the next day after. Than thei determyned to send his body to his two bretherne, John and Tyrrey, who were in the garyson at Bouhayne,[1] in Ostrenant;[2] for though that the countrey of Heinalt at that tyme was in no warr, yet all the fronters

CAP. XLIIII

How the Frenchmen brent in the landes of syr John of Heynault.

[1] *Bouchain.*
[2] *Ostrevant.*

CAP. XLIIII

How the Frenchmen brent in the landes of syr John of Heynault.

towarde Fraunce were ever in good awayt. So than they ordayned a horse lytter right honorably, and put his body therin, and caused ii. freres to convey it to his bretherne, who receyved hym with great sorowe. And they bare hym to the freres at Valencennes, and there he was buryed: and after that the two bretherne of Manny came to the castell of Thyne, and made sore warre agaynst them of Cambray, in countervengyng the dethe of their brother.

In this season, captayne of Turney and Turneyses was sir Godmar de Fay, and of the fortresses there about: and the lorde of Beauyeu was within Mortayn, on the ryver of Lescaute; and the stuarde of Carcassonne was in the towne of saynt Amande; sir Amery of Poyters in Douay; the lorde Galois de la Baulme, and the lorde of Vyllars, the Marshall of Myrepoys, and the lorde of Marueyl, in the cyte of Cambray. And these knyghtes, squyers, and soudyers of France desyred none other thyng but that they myght entre into Heynault, and to robbe and pyll the countrey. Also the bysshoppe of Cambray, who was at Parys with the kyng, complayned howe the Heynowes had done hym domage, brent and overron his contrey more than any other men. And than the kyng gave lycence to the soudiers of Cambresys to make a rode into Heynalt: than they of the garysons made a journey, and were to the nombre of vi. C. men of armes. And on a Saturday in the mornyng they departed from Cambray; and also they of la Male Mayson rode forth the same day, and mette togyder, and went to the towne of Aspre, the which was a good towne and a great, without the walles. The people ther were in no dout, for they knewe of no warr towardes them. So the Frenchmen entred, and founde men and women in their houses, and toke them and robbed the towne at their pleasur, and than sette fyre in the towne, and brent it so clene, that nothynge remayned but the walles. Within the towne ther was a priory of blacke monkis, with great byldinges besyde the church, which helde of saynt Wast of Arras; the Frenchemen also robbed the place, and brent it to the yerth, and withall their pyllage they retourned to Cambray. These tidynges anone came to the knowledge of therle of Heynault, who was a bedde and a slepe in his lodgyng,

called the Sale: and sodenly he rose and armed hym, and called up all such knyghtes as were about hym; but they were loged so abrode that they were nat so soone redy as therle was, who, without taryeng for any person, came into the market place of Valencennes, and caused the belles to be souned alaram. Than every man arose, and armed them, and folowed therle their lord, who was ryden out of the towne in great hast, and toke the way towarde Aspre: and by that tyme he had ryden a leage, tidyngis came to hym howe the Frenchmen were departed. Than he rode to thabby of Fountnels, where as the lady his mother was; and she had moche a do to repayse hym of his dyspleasure, for he sayd playnly that the dystruction of Aspre shuld derely be revenged in the realme of Fraunce. The good lady his mother dyd as moche as she coude to swage his yre, and to excuse the kynge of that dede. So whan therle had ben ther a certayne space, he toke leave of her, and retourned to Valencennes; and incontynent wrote letters to the prelates and knyghtis of his countrey to have their advyce and counsayle in that behalfe. And whan sir John of Heynalt knewe herof, he toke his horse, and came to therle his nephue: and as sone as the erle sawe hym, he sayd, A fayre uncle, your absence hath sette the Frenchmen in a pride; A sir, quoth he, with your trouble and anoyance I am sore dyspleased: howe be it in a maner I am glad thereof; now ye be well rewarded for the servyce and love that ye have borne to the Frenchmen; nowe it behoveth you to make a journey into Fraunce agaynst the Frenchmen. A uncle, quoth therle, loke into what quarter ye thynke best, and it shall be shortly done. So thus the day of parlyament assigned at Mons came, and thyder resorted all the counsayle of the countrey, and also of Holande and Zelande. Ther were dyvers opynyons; some wolde that certayne sufficyent persons shulde be sent to the French kyng, to knowe if he were consentyng to the hurt done in Henalt, or by what tytle he shulde make warre into the erles lande, without any defiaunce; and some other wold that therle shulde be revenged, in lyke maner as the Frenchmen had begon. Howbeit, finally all reasons debated, it was thought that therle coude do no otherwyse but to make warr into Fraunce. And it was ordayned, that

CAP. XLIIII

How the Frenchmen brent in the landes of syr John of Heynault.

CAP. XLIIII

How the Frenchmen brent in the landes of syr John of Heynault.

therle shulde make his defyaunce to the Frenche kyng, and than to entre byforce into the realme of France; and to bere these defyances was ordayned thabbot Thybalt of saynt Crispyne. So than the letters of defyance were written and sealed by therle, and by all the nobles of the contrey. Than therle thanked all his lordes and other of their good confort, and of their promyse to ayde to revenge him agaynst the Frenchmen. Thabbot of saynt Crispyne came into Fraunce, and brought these defyances to kyng Philyppe, who made light therof, and sayd how his nephue was but an outraous fole, and howe that he was a marchant to have his contrey brent. Thabbot returned to therle, and to his counsayle, and shewed howe he had sped: and than therle prepared for men of warre in his contrey, and in Brabant, and in Flanders, so that he had a great nombre togyder: and so set forwarde, towarde the lande of Symay,[1] for therles intent was to go and brenne the landes of the lorde of Bremus,[2] and also Aubenton, and Thyerache.

[1] *Chimay.*

[2] *Vervins.*

CAP. XLV

Howe therle of Heynault toke and distroyed Aubenton, and Thyerach.

THEY of Aubenton douted greatly therle of Heynalt, and sir John his uncle; and so they sent for some ayde to the great bayley of Vermandoys, and he sent to them the vydam of Chalons, the lorde Beaumont, the lorde de la Bove, the lorde of Lore, and dyvers other, to the nombre of CCC. men of armes; and so they repayred the towne in certayne places, and determyned to abyde the Heynowes, and to defende the towne, the which was a gret towne and full of drapery. The Heynowes cam on a Friday, and lodged nere to Aubenton, and advysed the towne, to se on what quarter it were moost best to be taken; and in the mornyng, they aproched in thre wardes, their baners before them, right ordynatly, and also their cros bowes. The erle of Heynalt ledde the first batayle, and with hym great nombre of the knyghtes, and squiers, of his countrey; his uncle, sir John of Heynalt, had the seconde batayle, wher

CAP. XLV

Howe therle of Heynault toke and distroyed Aubenton, and Thyerach.

as he had plenty of men a warr; the thyrde had the lorde Faulquemont, with a good nombre of Almaynes. And so thus every lorde was under his owne baner; and there beganne a sore assaut, and the bowes began to shote both within and without, wherby dyvers were sore hurt: therle and his company came to the gate, ther was a great assaut, and a sore skirmysshe; ther the Vydame of Calons dyd marveyles, and he made at the gate thre of his sonnes knyghtes. But finally, therle and his company conquered the baylies, and byforce made their ennemies to withdrawe into the gate. And also at the gate towarde Symay, was sir John la Bove, and sir John Beamont; ther was also a cruell assaut; they with in wer fayne to withdrawe in at their gates, and to leave the barrers, and the Heynows wan it, and the brige also. Ther was a sore assaut, for suche as were fledde and entred within, went up on the gate, and cast downe barres of yron, stones, pottes full of quycke lyme, wherby many were sore hurt. A squyer of Henalt receyved suche a stroke with a stone, on his targe, that it was clovyn clene asonder with the stroke, and his arme broken, so that it was long after or he was hole. The Saturday in the mornynge, ther was a great assaut, and they within dyd their dever to defende themselfe; but finally, the towne was wonne byforce, and their pales and defences broken. And first entred into the towne, sir John of Heynalt with his baner, with great cryeng and showtyng; than the Vydame of Chalons withdrewe hym and his company into the place before the mynster, and there made semblant to defende hymselfe as long as he myght endure. But the lorde of Bremus[1] departed without order, for he knewe well that sir John of Heynalt was sore displeased with him, so that he thought if he had ben taken, that no raunsome shulde have saved his lyfe. And whan sir John of Heynalt knewe that he was departed, that had done so moche dyspleasure in his lande of Symay, he pursued after hym: but the lorde of Bremus fledde fast, and founde the gate of his towne opyn, and so entred in, and syr Johanne of Heynault pursued hym juste to the gate, with his swerde in his hande; but whanne he sawe that he was escaped, he retourned agayne to Aubenton; and his men mette certayn of the lorde Bremus men as

[1] *Vervins.*

CAP. XLV

Howe therle of Heynault toke and distroyed Aubenton, and Thyerach.

they folowed their maister, and ther they were slayne without mercy. The erle and his company fought sore with them that were by the mynster, and ther the Vydam of Chalons dyd marveyls in armes, and so dyd two of his sonnes: but finally they wer all slayn; there scaped none, but suche as fledde with the lorde of Bremus, but all were slayne or taken, and a ii. M. men of the towne, and all the towne robbed and pylled, and all the goodes sent to Symay, and the towne brent. And after the burnyng of Aubenton, the Heynowes went to Mauber Fountaynes: and incontynent they wan it, and robbed and brent the towne, and also the towne of Daubecueyll, and Segny the great, and Segny the lytell, and all the hamelettes ther about, the which were mo than xl. Than the erle went to Mouns, and gave leave to his men of warr to depart, and thanked them in such wyse, that they were all well content. Than anone after, therle went to make a sure alyance with the kyng of England, to be the more stronger in his warre agaynst the Frenchmen. But first he made his uncle sir John of Heynalt chefe maister and governour of Holande and Zelande; and sir John lay styll at Mons, and provyded for the contrey, and sent to Valencennes, to confort and ayde them, the lorde Antoyng, the lorde of Vergny,[1] the lord of Gomegynes, and sir Henry of Huspharyce;[2] and the stewarde of Heynault, with a hundred speares, to the towne of Landrechyes; and to Bouhayne,[3] thre brethern, Almayns, called Courrars;[4] and to Escaudymee,[5] sir Gararde Sassesgynes; and into the towne of Davesnes, the lord of Falquemount. And thus he dyde into every fortresse on the fronters of Fraunce.

[1] *Wargny.*
[2] *Houffalize.*
[3] *Bouchain.*
[4] *Conrad.*
[5] *Escaudeuvres.*

CAP. XLVI

Howe they of Tourney made a journey into Flaunders.

WHAN the Frenche kyng knewe howe the Haynowes had brent the contrey of Thyerache, taken and slayne his knyghtes, and distroyed the good towne of Aubenton, than he commaunded the duke of

CAP. XLVI

Howe they of Tourney made a journey into Flaunders.

Normandy, his sonne, that he shulde make a journey into Heynalt, and bring the countrey into that case, that it shuld never be recovered agayne. Also the kyng ordayned therle of Layll Gastone,[1] who was as than with the kyng at Parys, that he shulde make a voyage into Gascoyne, as his lyeutenant, and to make warre to Burdeux, and to Bordeloys, and to all the fortresses that helde of the kyng of Englande. And also the Frenche kynge enforced his great navy that he had on the see, and commaunded them to kepe the bondes of Flanders, and nat to suffre the kyng of Englande to passe over the see into Flanders, on payne of their lyves. And whan the Frenche kyng understode that the Flemynges had made homage to the kynge of Englande, he sent unto them a prelate under the colour of the pope; shewyng them, that yf they wolde retourne and knowledge themselfe to holde of hym, and of the crowne of Fraunce, and to forsake the kyng of Englande, who had enchaunted them, than he sayd he wolde pardon them of all their trespaces, and wolde quyte them of the gret somme of money that they wer bound unto hym by oblygacion of olde tyme, and also to gyve them many fayre franchyses. And the Flemmynges answered, howe they thought them selfe right well assoyled and quyted in any thynge that they were bounde to the kyng of Fraunce. Than the Frenche kyng complayned to pope Clement the vi. wherupon the pope dyd cast suche a sentence of cursyng, that no preest durst syng or say ther any divyne servyce; wherof the Flemmynges sent a great complaynt unto the kyng of Englande, who to apease them sent them worde that whan he came over the see he wolde bring preestes out of his contrey to syng masses, whyther the pope wolde or nat, for he sayd he had privylege so to do; and so by that meanes the Flemmynges were somwhat apeased. And whan the Frenche kyng sawe that he coude nat tourne the Flemmynges fro their opynion, than he commaunded them of the garysons of Tourney, Lysle, and Doway, and other, to make warre on the Flemmynges, and to overronne the contrey. And so sir John du Roy, and syr Mathue de Trye, marshall of Fraunce, and sir Godmar du Fay, and dyvers other lordes, made an army of M. men of armes, and CCC. crosbowes,

[1] *L'Isle, Gascon.*

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what of Turney, Lysle, and Doway. And so in an evenyng thei departed fro Turney, and by that it was day in the mornyng, they were before Courtray. By that tyme the son was up, they had gathered togyther all the catell ther about; and some of them ran to the gates, and slewe and hurt dyvers that they founde without; and thane they retourned without any domage, and drove before them al their prayes, so that whan they came to Turney, they had mo than x. M. shepe, and as many swyne, beafes, and kyen, wherof the Flemynges were sore troubled. Than Jaques Dartvell sware that it shulde be derely revenged, and incontynent he commaunded the good townes of Flanders, that their men a warr shulde be with hym before Turney, at a day assigned; and he wrote to therle of Salysbury, and to therle of Suffolke, who wer at Ipre, that they shulde be ther at the same. And so agaynst the day lymitted, he went out of Gaunt, and came to a place bytwene Andwarp[1] and Turney, called le Pount de Sere,[2] and there he lodged and taryed for therles of England, and for them of Franke and of Bruges. The sayd two erles thought for their honour, that the enterprise shulde nat be delayed by them, and so sent to Jaques Dartvell, promysing hym nat to fayle, to be at the day apoynted. And so on a day they departed from Ipre, with a l. speares, and a fortie crosbowes, and went towarde the place where as Jaques Dartvell abode for them. And as they passed by the towne of Lyle, they were perceyved, and they of the towne yssued out with a xv. C. men a fote and a horsbacke, and went in iii. partes, to thentent that therles shulde nat scape them. So these two erles rode forth by the gyding of sir Vauflart de la Crox, who had kept long warr agaynst them of Lyle, and he knewe all the wayes of the contrey, and as than was at Ipre; and so he came forthe with these erles to be their gyde, and he had well gyded them. And they of Lyle had nuely made a great dyke, wher as there was never none before, and whan sir Vauflart hadde brought them thyder, and sawe howe the way was nuely stopped, he sayd to therles of Englande, Sirs, I se well we can nat passe without the danger of them of Lysle; wherfore I counsell, let us turne agayne and take some other way. Than the lordes sayde, Nay sir Vauflart, it

[1] by mistake for *Oudenarde.*
[2] *Pont de Fer.*

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shall never be sayd that we woll go out of our way, for feare of them of Lysle; therfore ryde on byfore, we have promysed Jaques Dartvell to be with hym this day; and so thenglysshmen rode forth without feare. Than sir Vauflart sayd, Sirs, ye have taken me in this vyage to be your gyde, and I have ben with you all this wynter in Ipre, wherof I am moch bounde to you; but if they of Lyle yssue out upon us, have no trust that I wyll abyde them, for I wyll save myselfe assone as I can, for if I wer taken it shulde cost me my lyfe, the which I love better than your company. Than the lordes dyd laugh at hym, and sayd, Well, and yf it be so, we holde you well excused. And as he ymagined, so it be fell: for or they wer ware, they were in danger of the Frenche busshement, who cryed Stoppe sirs, for ye shall nat passe this way without our lycence, and so began to shote and to ronne on the Englysshmen. And assone as syr Vauflart sawe the maner, he had no lyst to ryde any farther, but retourned assone as he myght, and gate hymselfe out of the preace; and the ii. erles fell in the handes of their ennemies, lyke fysshes in a nette, for they were closed rounde about in a narowe strayet passage, among hedges, busshes, and dykes, so that they coude scape no maner of way, forwarde nor backewarde. So whan they sawe that they wer so hardly bestad, they alyghted a fote, and defended themselfe as well as they might, and dyd hurt dyvers of them of Lysle; but finally, their defence coude nat avayle them, for ever newe fresshe men of warre came on them. So ther they wer taken byforce, and with them a yong squyer of Lymosyne, nephue to pope Clement, called Remon, who after that he was yelded prisoner, was slayne for covetyse of his fayre harnes and fresshe apareyle. These two erles were set in prison in the hall of Lysle, and after sent to the Frenche kynge, who promysed to them of Lysle a great rewarde, for the good servyce that they had done hym. And whane Jaques Dartvell, who was at Pont de Ferre, knewe those tidynges, he was sore dyspleased, and so seased his enterprise for that tyme, and retourned agayne to Gaunt.

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Of the journey that duke John of Normandy made into Heynault.

DUKE JOHN of Normandy, eldyst sonne to the French kyng, made his assemble to be at saynt Quyntines; and with hym was the duke of Athenes, therle of Flaunders, the erle of Aucerr, the erle of Ewe and constable of Fraunce, therle of Porcyen, therle of Roussy, therle of Bresne, therle of de graunt Pre, the lorde Coucy, the lorde Craon, and dyvers other nobles of Normandy, and of the lowe marches. And whan they were all assembled, anone after Easter, the yere of our lorde M.CCC.xl. the constables and the two marshals nombred their company to be a vi. thousand men of armes, and viii. M. of other folowynge the hoost; and so they went forthe into the feldes, and went towarde the castell of Cambresis, and passed by Bohayn, and rode tyll they passed the sayd castell in Cambresis, and lodged in the towne of Montays, on the ryver of Sels: and sir Rycharde of Verchyne, stewarde of Henalt, knewe by his spyes, how the duke of Normandy was at Montays. Than he desyred certayne knightes and squyers, suche as wer nere about hym, to go with hym thyder as he wolde bringe them, and they graunted hym so to do; and so departed for his house at Verchyn, and with hym a lx. speares, and rode forthe fro the sonne settyng, tyll he came to a forest in the yssuyng out of Heynalt, a lytell leage fro Montays, and by that tyme it was night. Than he rested hym in a felde, and sayde to his company, howe he wolde go and awake the duke at Montays, wherof they were right joyouse, and sayd, howe they wolde adventure with hym to lyve and dye: he thanked them: and with hym there was syr Jaques de Sart, sir Henry of Phalyse,[1] sir Olpharte du Guystelles, sir John du Chastellet, and sir Bertrande; and of squyers, there was Gyles and Thyerry of Sommayne, Baudwyn of Beaufort, Colebrier of Brule, Moreau of Lescuyer, Sawdart de Stramen, Johann of Robersat, Bridoull de Thyaulx, and dyverse other; they rode prively

[1] *Houffalize.*

and came to Montays, and entred into the towne. The Frenchmen had made no watche, and so the stewarde and all his company alyghted before a fayre great lodgyng, wenyng to theym that the duke had lodged ther, but he was in another house; but ther were loged ii. great lordes of Normandy, the lorde of Baylleull, and the lorde of Beaulte,[1] and they were quickely assayled, and the gate broken opynne. Whan they hard the cry of Heynalt, they were abasshed, and defended themselfe as well as they might, and ther the lorde of Baylleull was slayne, and the lorde of Beautie taken, and was fayne to promyse the seneshall, on his fayth and trouth, to yelde hymselfe prisoner, within thre dayes after at Valencens. Than the Frenchmen began to stirr in the towne, and came out of their logynges, and made fiers, and lighted up torches and candels, and eche of them raysed up other, and awoke the duke, who rose and armed hym in hast, and displayed his baner before his logyng, and every man drue thyder. Then the Heynoues[2] withdrue abacke sagely to their horses and mounted, and whan they wer all togyder, they had a x. or xii. good prisoners, and so returned without any damage, for they wer nat pursued it was so darke; and so they came by that it was day to Quesnoy, and there they rested them, and than rode to Valencens. In the mornyng the duke commaunded to dysloge, and to entre into Heynalt, and to bren the contrey without mercy. So the fore ryders went forthe, a ii. C. speares, and captayns of them were sir Thybalt of Marueyle, the Galoys of the Beaume, the lorde of Myrpois, the lorde of Raynevall, the lorde of Sempy, the lorde John of Landas, the lorde of Hangest, and the lorde of Tramels; and after them rode the two marshals, with fyve C. speres, and than the duke with other lordes and knyghtes. And so the fore ryders burnt Forestbertran,[3] Bertynguinell,[4] Escarmayne, Vendegres[5] in the wod, Vendegres on the sandes, upon the ryver of Cynell;[6] and the next day they went forwarde, and brent Osmelnall,[7] Vyllers, Gommegynes, Marchepoys,[8] Pestell,[9] Anfroy, Pyepreux,[10] Fresnoy, Obeys, the good towne of Bannoy,[11] and all the contrey to the ryver of Hommell:[12] and the same second day, the marshals company made a gret assaut and skirmysshe, at the castell of Verchyne, but they

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[1] *Briauté.*

[2] *Hainaulters.*

[3] *Forest, Vertain.*

[4] *Vertigneul.*

[5] *Vendegies-au-Bois.*

[6] *Vendegies-sur-Écaillon.*

[7] *Orsinval.*

[8] *Maresches, Poix.*

[9] *Préseau.*

[10] *Anfroipret, Preux.*

[11] *Bavay.*

[12] *Honeau.*

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wan nothyng ther, it was so well defended. Than they went and lodged by the ryver of Selz,[1] bytwene Ausey and Sansoy, and sir Valeron, lorde of Falquemont, was captayne of the towne of Maubeuge, and with hym a C. speares of Almayns and Heynowes; and whane he knewe that the Frenchmen rode and brent the contrey, and sawe howe the poore peple wept, he armed hym and his company, and left the towne in the kepyng of the lorde of Beau Revoyr, and the lord Montigny, and he sayd he wolde gladly fynde the Frenchmen; and so he rode all that day, coostyng the forest of Morivall,[2] and agaynst nyght he harde howe the duke of Normandy was loged by the ryver of Sels: than he sayd he wolde go and awake them. And so he rode forthe, and about mydnight he passed the ryver by a gyde, and whan he was over, he made hym and his company redy, and so rode fayre and easely tyll he came to the dukes logyng, and whan they were nere, they spurred their horses, and dasshed into thoost, and cryed Falquemont, and cut downe tentes, and pavilyons, and slewe dyvers men and dyd great hurt. Than the hoost began to sterre and armed them, and drewe to that part where as the noyse was, and the lorde of Falquemont whan he sawe it was tyme, he drue abacke; and of the Frenchmen ther were slayne, the lorde of Pyquegny, and taken prisoners, the vycont of Quesnes and the Borgne of Rouvory, and sore hurt, sir Antony of Coudune. And whan the lorde Falquemont thought best, he departed and all his company, and passed the ryver of Sels without damage, for they wer nat folowed; and so by the sonne risyng they came to Quesnoy, where as sir Thyerrie of Vallecourt opyned to them the gate. The next day after this dede, the duke of Normandy caused his trumpettes to be blowen, and so passed the ryver of Sels, and entred into Heynalt. And suche as rode before, as the marshall of Mirpoys, the lord of Noysiers, the Galoys of the Baulme, and sir Thybalt of Marueyle, and iiii. C. speares, besyde the brigantes, came before Quesnoy to the bariers, and made semblant to gyve assaut, but they within were so well provyded with good men of warre and artyllery, that they shulde have lost their payne. Howbeit they made a lytell skirmyssh before the bayles, but at last they were fayne to withdrawe, for they of Quesnoy dyscharged certayne

[1] *Selle.*

[2] *Mormal.*

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peces of artyllery, and shotte out great quarels, wherof the Frenchmen were afrayd for sleyng of their horses, and so withdrue backe. And in their goyng, they brent Vergyn[1] the great, and Vergyn the lytell, Frelanes, Samuers,[2] Artes, Semeries, Artuell, Saryten,[3] Turgies,[4] Estynen,[5] Aulnoy, and dyvers other, so that the smoke came to Valencennes; and than the Frenchmen ordayned their batels on the mount of Casters, nere to Valencennes. And certayne of them, as the lorde of Craon, the lorde of Mauluryer, the lorde of Mathelon, the lorde of Davoyr, and a two C. speares with them, rode towarde Mayng, and came and assayled a great towre, parteyninge to John Vernyer of Valencens, and afterwarde it was parteyning to John Nevell.[6] Ther was a great and a fierse assaut, endurynge nygh all day, so that of the Frenchmen, or they departed, were slayne a v. or vi. but they within defended themselfe so well, that they took no damage. Than some of the Frenchmen went to Try, wenyng at their first commynge to have past the water:[7] but they of the towne had broken the bridge, and defended the passage, so that the Frenchmen coude never have won it that way. Thane ther were some among them that knewe the passages and the contrey, and so they brought a two C. men afote, and passed the plankes at Ponny,[8] and assone as they were over they came on them of Try, who were but a small nombre, and coude nat endure agaynst them, and so they fledde, and dyvers were slayne and hurt. The same day the seneshall of Heynalt was departed out of Valencens, with a C. men of armes, to socour them of Trye; and a lytell fro saynt Wast, they met with a xxv. currours of the Frenchmen, and the lorde Boucyqualt, who was after marshall of France, and the lorde of Surgeres, and sir Wyllyam Blandeau was their captayns, and they had passed the bridge by Valencennes, called the bridge de la Tourell. And whan the seneshall of Heynalt sawe them, he ranne out at them and bare downe with his speare the lorde Boucyquault and toke hym prisoner, and sent hym to Valencens: the lorde of Surgeres scaped, but syr Wyllyam Blandeau was taken by sir Henry Dusphalyse: and all the other wer taken and slayne, but a fewe that scaped; and so than the seneshal went towarde Try: but he came to late, for the Frenchemen

[1] *Wargny.*
[2] *Famars.*
[3] *Saultain.*
[4] *Curgies.*
[5] *Estreux.*
[6] *Neufville.*
[7] *The Scheldt.*
[8] *Prouvy.*

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had wonne it or he came, and were beatyng downe of the mylles, and of a lytell castell that was ther: but whan the seneshall came they had no leaser, for they wer put abacke, slayne, and put to flight, and chased so nere that many lept into the ryver of Lescalt, and some drowned. So thus the towne of Try was delyverd, and than the seneshall went and passed the ryver of Lescalt, at Denayng, and than he and all his company rode to his castell of Verchyn, and entred into it, to kepe and defende it, yf nede were.

All this season the duke of Normandy was on the mount of Casters nygh all day, thinkynge ever that they of Valencennes wolde have yssued out, to have fought with hym. And so they wolde fayne have done, and sir Henry Dantoynge, who had rule of the towne, had nat ben: for he wolde suffre no man to yssue out; and he was at the gate Cambresen, and had moch ado to kepe the peple within, and the provost of the towne with him, who with fayre wordes, and great reasons, apeased the peple. And whan the duke sawe that they wolde nat yssue out to gyve hym batayle, than he sent to the duke of Athenes, and the marshals of Fraunce, therle of Aucerre, and the lorde of Chastelon, with a thre hundred speares, to rynne to Valencens. And so they rode in good order, and came to the bayls on the syde of Tourell, but they taryed nat there long, they feared so the shot, for sleynge of their horses; howbeit, the lorde of Chastelon rode so forwarde, that his horse fell under hym, so that he was fayne to leape on another; than they retourned by the marches, and brent and bete downe the mylles on the ryver of Vyncell, and so came by Chartreux, and than to their hoost agayne. Ther were some of the Frenchmen that taryed behynde, at Marley, to gette forage more at their ease; and such as kept a towre therby parteyning to the heyres of Heynault, and somtyme it was belongyng to sir Robert de Namur, by the right of the lady Isabell his wyfe, whan they parceyved these frenchemen that were behynde their hoost, and howe that thoost was farre of fro them, they yssued out and set on them, and slewe many, and toke all their pyllage, and entred agayn to their toure. All this season, yet the great batayle was styll on the mount of Castres, and whan the currers came in on every syde, than

they toke counsayle what they shulde do. The lordes sayd, how they were no nombre suffycient to assaut such a towne as Valencennes, and finally, they determyned to go to Cambray; and so that nyght they went and lodged at Monyg,[1] and at Fountnelles, and made good watche. The next mornyng they departed, and ar they went, brent Monyg and Fountnelles, and the abbay parteyning to the lady of Valoys, suster germayne to the Frenche kyng: wherof the duke was sore dyspleased, and caused them to be hanged that beganne the fyre. And than at their departyng they brent the towne of Try, and the castell, and beate downe the mylles, and brent Prony,[2] Romminy,[3] Thyaux,[4] Mouceaulx,[5] and all the playne contrey bytwene Cambray and Valencennes; and thanne the duke came to Escandure,[6] to a castell parteynynge to the erle of Heynault, standyng strongly on the ryver of Lescault, the whiche garyson hadde grevyd sore the towne of Cambray, and capytayne therof was sir Gararde of Sassegynes. And whan the duke had ben before that castell a six dayes, it was gyven up, wherof all the countrey hadde great marveyle, and had great suspect of treason to the captayne, sir Gararde, and to a squyer of his, called Robert Marmeaulx;[7] and after they bothe dyed shamefully at Mons in Heynalt. And they of Cambray bete downe the castell, and bare all the stones into their towne to make reparacyons withall.

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Of the journey that duke John of Normandy made into Heynault.

[1] *Maing.*
[2] *Prouvy.*
[3] *Rouvignies.*
[4] *Thiant.*
[5] *Monchaux.*
[6] *Escaudeuvre.*
[7] *Mariniaus.*

CAP. XLVIII

Howe they of Doway made a journay into Ostrenan, and howe therle of Heynalt was in England.

AFTER the dystruction of Escandure, the duke of Normandy went to Cambray, and gave leave to some of his company to depart, and some he sent to the garysons of Doway, and other. And the first weke that they came to Doway, they yssued out, and they of Lysle with theym, so that they were a thre hundred speares, and their capytaynes were sir Loyes of Savoy, therle of Geneve, therle of Vyllars, the Galoys of the Baulme, the

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lorde of Waurayne, the lorde of Vasyers: and so they went and brent the fayre contrey of Ostrenan[1] in Heynault, and left nothynge without the forteresses, wherwith they of Bouhayn[2] were sore dysplesed, for they sawe the fyers and smokes, and coude nat remedy it; and soo they sent to them to Valencennes, that if they wolde yssue out a sixe hundred speres in the night, thei shuld do moche damage to the Frenchmen, who were spredde abrode in the playne countrey; howe be it, they of Valencennes wolde natte go out of the towne. So the Frenchmen had great pray, and brent the towne of Nyche,[3] Descoux, Escaudan, Here,[4] Monteny, Senayne,[5] Verlayne, Vargny, Ambretycourt, Lourg,[6] Salx,[7] Ruette,[8] Newfuylle, Lyeu saynt Amande, and all the vyllages in that contrey, and wan great pyllage. And whan they of Doway were gone home, than the soudyers of Bohayne yssued out and brent the halfe of Descoux, whiche was Frenche, and all the vyllages parteyning to France, juste to the gates of Doway, and the towne of Desquerchyne. Thus as I have devysed, the garysons in those countreis were provyded for, and dyverse skirmysshes and feates of warre used amonge theym. The same tyme there was certayne soudyours of Almaygne sette by the bysshoppe of Cambray in the fortresse of Male Mayson, a two leages fro the castell Cambresien, and marchynge on the other parte nere to Landreches, wherof the lorde of Poytrell was captayne; for therle of Bloys, though he wer lorde therof, yet he had rendred it to therle of Heynalt, bycause he was as than Frenche. So on a day the Almayns of Male Mayson came to the bayles of Landreches, and drave away a gret pray; and whan they of Landreches knewe therof, the lorde of Poytrels armed him and all his company, and yssued out to rescue the pray: the lorde of Poytrels was formast hymselfe, and layd his spere in the rest, and cryed to the Frenchmen, and sayd, Sirs, it is shame to flye away. And there was a squyer called Albert of Colayne,[9] he turned and couched the spere in the rest, and came rennyng agaynst the lorde of Poytrell, and gave hym suche a stroke on the targe, that the spere flewe all to peaces; yet the sayd squyer strake hym agayn suche a stroke, that the spere entred through his harnes, and into

[1] *Ostrevant.*
[2] *Bouchain.*
[3] *Aniche.*
[4] *Erre.*
[5] *Fenain.*
[6] *Lourches.*
[7] *Saulx.*
[8] *Roeulx.*
[9] *Cologne.*

his body, just to the hert, so that he fell fro his horse deed. Than his companyons, Heynous, as the lorde of Bansiers, Garard de Mastyne, and John of Mastyn, and other, pursued the Frenchmen in suche wyse, that they were taken and slayne the moost part, but fewe that scaped, and their pray rescued, and suche prisoners as they had of Landreches, and so retourned agayne with the lorde of Poytrels deed; after whose dethe, the lorde of Floron[1] was long tyme captayne of Landreches, and of the castell ther. Thus some day rode forthe the Frenchmen, and some day the Heynous, and dyvers encountrynges was bytwene them. Thus the countrey of Heynault was in great trybulacion, for parte therof was brent; and the duke of Normandy was styll on the fronters, and no man knewe what he wolde do, and they coulde here no tidynges of therle of Heynalt; true it was, he was in Englande, wher as the kyng and the lordes made hym great chere, and made great alyance with the kyng there; and so departed out of Englande, and went to themperour Loys of Bavyer: and so these were the causes why that he taryed so long out of his owne countrey. And also sir Johanne of Heynalt was gone into Brabant, and into Flaunders, and shewed to the erle of Brabant, and to Jaques Dartvell, the desolacyon of the countrey of Heynalt, prayeng them in the name of all the Heynowes, that they wold gyve them some counsell and ayde; and they answered, that they were sure that therle wolde shortly returne, at which tyme they sayd, they wolde be redy to go with hym whyther as he wolde.

CAP. XLVIII

Howe they of Doway made a journay into Ostrenan.

[1] *Floion.*

CAP. XLIX

Howe the duke of Normandy layed siege to Thyne Levesque.

IN the mean season that the duke of Normandy was at Cambray, the bysshoppe and the burgesses of the towne shewed the duke how the Heynowes had get by stelth the strong castell of Thyne, desyring hym for the common profet of the countrey that he wolde fynde some remedy, for the garyson ther dyd moche hurt to their contrey. Than the duke called agayne toguyder men of

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Howe the duke of Normandy layed siege to Thyne Levesque.

warre out of Artoyse and Vermandoys, and so departed from Cambray, and came before Thyne, on the ryver of Lescalt, in the fayre playne medowes toward Ostrenan.[1] The duke caryed with hym out of Cambray and Doway, dyverse great engyns, and specially vi. and made them to be reared agayne the fortres, so these engyns dyd cast night and day great stones, the which bete downe the roffes of the chambers, halles, and towres, so that they within were fayne to kepe vautes and sellars. Thus they within suffred great payne, and captayns within wer sir Rycharde Lymosyn, Englysshe, and two squyers of Heynault, bretherne to therle of Namur, Johanne and Thyerry; these thre that had the charge, sayd often tyme to their company, Sirs, surely one of these dayes therle of Heynalt wyl come agaynst these Frenchmen, and delyver us with honour, and ryd us out of this paryll, and shal can us great thanke, that we have kept this fortres so longe. The ingens without dyd cast in deed horses, and beestes stynking, wherby they within had great[er] dystres thane with any other thynge, for the ayre was hote as in the myddes of somer: the stynke and ayre was so abomynable, that they consydred howe that finally they coude nat long endure. Than they toke advyse to desyre a truse for xv. dayes, and in that space to sende and advertyse syr John of Heynalt, who was ruler of the contrey in therles absence, and without that he dyde socour them in that space, to yelde up the fortres to the duke. This treaty was put forth and agreed unto. Than they within sent a squyer, called Estrelart de Sommayne, to sir John of Heynalt: and at Mons in Heynalt the squyer founde hym, who had nuely harde fro his nephue therle, howe that he was commyng homewarde into his countrey, and hadde been with themperour, and made great alyance with hym, and with the kyng of England, and with the other lordes of thempyre; all this sir John of Henault shewed to this squyer, sendyng worde to them of Thyne, that shortly they shulde be conforted at the returne of his nephue therle. This truse duryng, therle of Heynalt returned home, wherof all his peple wer gretly rejoysed. Than the lorde Beamonde his uncle, shewed hym all maters that was done syth his departyng, and howe that the duke

[1] *Ostrevant.*

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of Normandy had layne on the fronters, and brent and dystroyed a great part of his contrey; therle answered, howe it shulde be well amended, sayng, howe the realme of France was great ynough to make satisfaction of all forfeturs by them done: and determyned brefelye, to go and ayde his men at Thyne, who had so honorably defended their fortresses. Than the erle sent for men into Almayne, into Flanders, and in his owne contrey, and so came to Valencennes, and daylie his nombre encreased, and departed thens in great aray, with caryages, tentes, and pavilyons, and went and lodged at Nans,[1] on the playne along by the ryver of Lescalt. Ther were lordes of Heynalt, sir John of Heynalt, the lorde of Denghyn, the lord of Verchyn, the seneshall of Heynalt, the lorde Dantoyng, the lorde of Barbenson, the lorde of Lens, sir Wyllyam of Baylleull, the lorde of Havereth chatelayne of Mons, the lorde of Montegny, the lord of Barbays, sir Thyrrie of Valecourt, marshall of Henalt, the lorde of Dalmed,[2] and of Gomegynes, the lorde of Brifuell, the lorde of Roysine, the lorde of Trasegmes, the lorde de Lalayne, the lorde of Mastyne, the lorde of Sars, the lorde Vargny, the lorde of Beauryeu, and dyverse other, who were all ther to serve therle their lorde: also thyder came therle of Namur, with ii. hundred speares, and after came the duke of Brabant, with vi. hundred speres, the duke of Guerles, therle of Mons, the lorde of Falquemont, sir Arnolde Baquechen, and dyverse other lordes, and men a warre of Almaygne and Whytphall;[3] and so all these loged along by the ryver of Lescault, agaynst the Frenche hoost, and plentie of vytails came to them out of Heynalt. And whane these lordes were thus lodged bytwene Nauns and Illoys, the duke of Normandy, who was on the other part with a goodly nombre of men a warre, he sende worde to his father, howe that therls hoost dayly encreased. Than the Frenche kynge, beynge at Peron, raysed up mo men of warre, and sende to his sonne a xii. hundred speares; and so hymselfe came to his sonnes hoost lyke a soudyer, for he myght nat come with an army upon themperour, without he shulde breke his othe as he dyde. So the duke of Normandy was named to be cheife of that army, but he dyd nothyng but by the counsayle of the

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[1] *Nave.*

[2] *Hamide.*

[3] *Westphalia.*

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kyng, his father. Whan they within Thyne sawe therle of Heynalt of suche puyssance, they were right joyeous; and the fourth day after that the erle was come thyder, they of Valencennes came thyder in great aray, and John de Boyssey, provost of the towne, was their capytayne. Than ther was a skirmyssh made agaynst the Frenchemen, and dyvers hurt on bothe parties: and in the meane season, they within the fortres had bottes and barges redy, and so paste over the ryver of Lescault, and were brought to the erle of Heynalt, who joyously and honourably receyved them. In this tyme that these two hostes were lodged on the ryver of Lescault, the Frenchmen towarde Fraunce, and the Heynowes towarde their owne contreis, their forages rode forthe, but they met nat, bycause the ryver was ever bytwene them; but the Frenchmen went and brent the contrey of Ostrenan, that was nat brent before; and the Heynowes in likewyse the contrey of Cambreses. Also to the ayde of therle of Heynault, at the desyre of Jaques Dartvell, came thyther a lx. thousande Flemmynges, well armed. Than therle of Heynalt sent to the duke of Normandy, by his haraltes, that ther might be batell bytwene them, and howe that it shulde be a great shame, so many men of warre assembled togyder, and no batayle. The duke answered, howe he wolde take advyse and counsell in that mater, the which counsell was so long, that the haraldes departed without answere. Than the third day after, therle sent agayne to knowe the dukes intencyon, and the duke answered, how he was nat yet fully counselled to fight, nor to assigne a day of batayle; sayng moreover, how that therle was very hasty: whan the erle harde that, he thought that it was but a delay. Than he sent for all the gret lordes of his hoost, shewyng them what he had done, and what answere the duke had made hym: desyring them to have their counsell; than every man loked on other, and no man wold speke first. At last the duke of Brabant spake for all, and sayd, as to make a bridge, and go over to fight with the Frenchman, is nat myne opynion, for I knowe certaynly, that shortly the kyng of Englande wyll come over the see and lay sege to Turney, and we all have sworne to ayd and confort hym in all that we canne: wherfore if we

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shulde nowe fyght with the Frenchmen, and fortune to be agayne us, that we happe to lese the felde, he shulde lose his vyage, and all the helpe that he shulde have of us: and if we had the vyctorie he shulde can us no thanke: wherfore my intencyon is, that without hym, who is chefe of this warre, that we fyght nat with the power of Fraunce; but whan we shal be before Turney with hym, and the Frenche kynge agaynst us, I thynke it wyll be harde to depart without batell; wherfore I wolde counsell let us depart, for here we lye at great coost and charge, for I am sure within these x. dayes, we shall here fro the kyng of Englande. To this advyce the moost part of the lordes agreed, but therle of Heynalt desyred them all in generall nat to depart so sone: and so they agreed to tary somwhat lengar; they of Brussels wolde fayne have ben gone, and they of Lovane. On a day, therle called to hym sir John of Heynalt his uncle, and sayd, Fayre uncle, I pray you ryde downe along by the ryver syde, and call over the ryver to speke with some persone of the French hoost, and desyre hym to shewe the Frenche kyng fro me, that I wyll make a brydge over the water, so that I may have thre dayes respyte, and than I woll come over and gyve hym batell. Than the lorde Beamond rode downe along by the ryver of Lescalt, and a xiii. knyghtes with hym, and his penon before hym, and at last he parceyved on the other syde a knyght of Normandy, he knewe hym by his armes. Than he called to hym and sayd, Sir Maubousson, I pray you speke with me. Than the knyght sayd, Sir, what wold you with me. I desyre you, quod the lorde Beamonde, that ye wyll go to the Frenche kyng, and to his counsayle, and say how the erle of Heynault hath sende me hyther to take a truse, all onely whyles that he might make a brige over this ryver, wherby he and his myght passe over; I pray you bring me agayne an answere, and I shall tary here tyll ye retourne. Than the lord of Maubusson strake his horse with the spurres, and rode to the kynges tent, where as the duke of Normandy and many other lordes were. Ther he shewed his message, and he had a short answer, for he was commanded to tell hym that sent him thyder, that in the same case as they had helde the erle, in likewyse so they wold contynue;

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sayng, how they wold make hym to sell his lande, and that he shuld have warr on every syde, and whan we lyst, we woll entre into Heynalt so farr that we woll bren all his contrey. This answere the lorde of Maubusson reported to the lorde Beamond, who thanked hym of his labour, and so retourned to therle, whom he found playng at chesse with therle of Namur: and assone as therle sawe his uncle, he arose and harde the answere, that the Frenche kynge had sent hym, wherwith the erle was dysplesed, and sayd, Well, I trust it shall nat be as he purposeth.

CAP. L

Of the batell on the see before Sluse in Flaunders bytwene the kyng of England and the Frenchmen.

NOWE let us leave somwhat to speke of therle of Henalt, and of the duke of Normandy, and speke of the kyng of England, who was on the see to the intent to arryve in Flaunders, and so into Heynalt, to make warr agaynst the Frenchmen. This was on mydsomer evyn, in the yer of our lorde M.CCC.xl. all thenglyssh flete was departed out of the ryver of Tames, and toke the way to Sluse. And the same tyme bytwene Blanqueberque[1] and Sluse, on the see, was sir Hewe Kyryell,[2] sir Peter Bahuchet, and Barbnoyr, and mo than sixscore great vessels, besyde other; and they wer of Normayns, bydaulx, Genowes, and Pycardes, about the nombre of xl. M.; ther they wer layd by the French kyng to defend the kyng of Englandes passage. The kyng of England and his came saylyng tyll he came before Sluse; and whan he sawe so great a nombre of shippes that their mastes semed to be lyke a gret wood, he demaunded of the maister of his shyp what peple he thought they were. He answered and sayd, Sir, I thynke they be Normayns layd here by the Frenche kyng, and hath done gret dyspleasur in Englande, brent your towne of Hampton, and taken your great shyppe the Christofer. A quoth the kyng, I have long desyred to fyght with the Frenchmen, and nowe shall I fyght with some of them, by the grace of God and saynt George, for truly they have done me so many

[1] *Blankenberghe.*

[2] *Quieret.*

CAP. L
Of the batell on the see before Sluse in Flaunders.

dysplesures, that I shall be revenged, and I may. Than the king set all his shyppes in order, the grettest befor, well furnysshed with archers, and ever bytwene two shyppes of archers he had one shypp with men of armes; and than he made another batell to ly alofe with archers, to confort ever them that wer moost wery, yf nede were. And ther were a great nombre of countesses, ladyes, knyghtes wyves, and other damosels, that were goyng to se the quene at Gaunt; these ladyes the kyng caused to be well kept with thre hundred men of armes, and v. C. archers.

Whan the kyng and his marshals had ordered his batayls, he drewe up the seales, and cam with a quarter wynde, to have the vauntage of the sonne: and so at last they tourned a lytell to get the wynde at wyll. And whan the Normayns sawe them recule backe, they had marvell why they dyde so; and some sayd, They thynke themselfe nat mete to medyll with us, wherfore they woll go backe: they sawe well howe the kyng of England was ther personally, by reason of his baners. Than they dyd appareyle their flete in order, for they wer sage and good men of warr on the see, and dyd set the Christofer, the which they had won the yer before, to be formast, with many trumpettes and instrumentes, and so set on their ennemies. Ther began a sore batell on bothe partes; archers and crosbowes began to shote, and men of armes aproched, and fought hande to hande; and the better to come togyder, they had great hokes and grapers of yron, to cast out of one shyppe into another, and so tyed them fast togyder. Ther were many dedes of armes done, takyng, and rescuyng agayne: and at last, the great Christofer was first won by thenglysshmen, and all that were within it taken or slayne. Than ther was great noyse and crye, and thenglysshmen aproched and fortifyed the Christofer with archers, and made hym to passe on byfore to fyght with the Genoweys. This batayle was right fierse and terryble: for the batayls on the see ar more dangerous and fierser, than the batayls by lande; for on the see ther is no reculyng nor fleyng; ther is no remedy but to fight, and to abyde fortune, and every man to shewe his prowes. Of a trouthe, sir Hewe Kyriell, and sir Bahuchet, and Barbe Noyer, were ryght good and expert

CAP. L
Of the batell on the see before Sluse in Flaunders.

men of warre. This batayle endured fro the mornyng tyll it was noone, and thenglysshmen endured moche payne, for their ennemies were foure agaynst one, and all good men on the see. Ther the king of England was a noble knight of his owne hande, he was in the flouer of his yongth; in lykewyse so was the erle of Derby, Pembroke, Herforde,[1] Huntyngdon, Northampton and Glocetter, sir Reynolde Cobham, sir Rycharde Stafforde, the lorde Percy, sir Water of Manny, sir Henry of Flaunders, sir John Beauchamp, the lorde Felton, the lorde Brasseton,[2] sir Chandos, the lorde Delawarre, the lorde of Multon, sir Robert Dartoys called erle of Rychmont, and dyverse other lordes and knyghtes, who bare themselfe so valyantly with some socours that they had of Bruges, and of the countrey there about, that they obtayned the vyctorie. So that the Frenchmen, Normayns, and other were dysconfetted, slayne, and drowned: there was nat one that scaped, but all were slayne. Whane this vyctorie was atchyved, the kyng all that nyght abode in his shyppe before Sluse, with great noyse of trumpettes and other instrumentes. Thyder came to se the kynge, dyvers of Flaunders, suche as had herde of the kynges commyng. And than the kyng demaunded of the burgesses of Bruges, howe Jaques Dartvell dyd: they answered, that he was gone to the erle of Heynalt, agaynst the duke of Normandy, with lx. M. Flemynges. And on the next day, the which was mydsomer day, the kyng and all his toke lande, and the kyng on fote went a pylgrimage to our lady of Ardenbourge, and there herd masse and dyned, and thane toke his horse and rode to Gaunt, where the quene receyved hym with great joye; and all his caryage came after, lytell and lytell. Than the kyng wrote to therle of Heynault, and to theym within the castell of Thyne, certyfieng them of his arryvall; and whan therle knewe therof, and that he had dysconfyted the army on the see, he dysloged, and gave leave to all the souldyours to depart; and toke with hym to Valencennes, all the great lordes, and ther feasted them honourably, and specially the duke of Brabant, and Jaques Dartvell. And ther Jaques Dartvell, openly in the market place, in the presence of all the lordes, and of all such as wold here hym, declared what right the kyng of Englande had to the crowne

[1] *Hereford.*

[2] *Bradestan.*

of France, and also what puyssaunce the thre countreis were of, Flaunders, Heynault, and Brabant, surely joyned in one alyance. And he dyde so by his great wysdome, and plesaunt wordes, that all people that harde hym, praysed hym moche, and sayd howe he had nobly spoken, and by great experyence. And thus he was greatly praysed, and it was sayd, that he was well worthy to governe the countie of Flaunders. Than the lordes departed, and promysed to mete agayne within viii. dayes at Gaunt, to se the kyng of England: and so they dyd. And the kyng feasted them honorably, and so dyd the quene, who was as than nuly purifyed of a sonne called John, who was after duke of Lancastre, by his wyfe, doughter to duke Henry of Lanncastre. Than ther was a counsell set to be at Vyllenort,[1] and a day lymitted.

CAP. L

Of the batell on the see before Sluse in Flaunders.

[1] *Villevorde.*

CAP. LI

Howe kynge Robert of Cicyll dyd all that he might to pacyfie the kynges of Fraunce and Englande.

WHAN the French kyng harde howe his army on the see was dysconfyted, he dysloged and drewe to Arras, and gave leave to his men to depart tyll he harde other tidynges: and sent sir Godmar du Fay to Tourney to se that there lacked nothyng. He feared more the Flemynges than any other, and sent the lord of Beaujewe to Mortayn to kepe the fronters agaynst Heynalt; and he sent many men of warr to saynt Omers, to Ayre, and to saynt Venaunt, and purveyed suffyciently for all the forteresses frontyng on Flanders. In this season ther raygned a kyng in Cicyll called Robert, who was reputed to be a great astronomyer, and alwayes he warned the Frenche kyng and his counsell, that in no wyse he shulde fight agaynst the king of Englande; for he sayd, it was gyven the king of Englande to be right fortunate in all his dedes. This kyng Robert wold gladly have sene these two kynges at a good acorde, for he loved so moch the crowne of Fraunce, that he was right sorie to se the desolacyon therof.

CAP. LI
Howe kynge Robert of Cicyll dyd all that he might to pacyfie the kynges of Fraunce and Englande.

This kynge of Cicyll was at Avygnone with pope Clement, and with the colledge ther, and declared to them the peryls that were likely to fall in the realme of France by the warr bytwene the sayd two kynges, desyring them that they wold helpe to fynde some meanes to apease them; wher unto the pope and the cardynals answered, howe they wolde gladly intende therto, so that the two kynges wolde here them.

CAP. LII

Of the counsayle that the kynge of Englande and his alyes helde at Vyllenort.

AT this counsayle holden at Vyllenort, were these lordes as followeth: the kyng of England, the duke of Brabant, therle of Henalt, syr John his uncle, the duke of Guerles, therle of Jullers, the marques of Faulquebourc, the marques of Musse, therle of Mons, sir Robert Dartoys, the lorde of Falquemont, sir Wyllyam of Dunort, therle of Namur, Jaques Dartvell, and many other great lordes, and of every good towne of Flanders, a thre or iiii. personages in maner of a counsayle. Ther was agrement made bytwene the thre contreis, Flanders, Brabant, and Heynalt, that fro thensforth eche of them shulde ayde and confort other in all cases. And ther they made assurance ech to other, that if any of them had to do with any countrey, thother two shulde gyve ayde; and herafter if any of them shulde be at dyscorde one with another, the thyrde shulde set agrement bytwene them: and if he were nat able so to do, than the mater shulde be put unto the kynge of Englande, in whose handes this mater was sworne and promysed, and he to agre them. And in confyrmacion of love and amyte, they ordayned a lawe to ryn throughout those iii. contres, the which was called the lawe of the companyons or alyes. And ther it was determyned that the kyng of Englande shulde remove about Maudelentyde after, and ley siege to Turney, and ther to mete all the sayd lordes and thers, with the powers of all the good townes: and than every man departed to their owne houses, to aparell them in that behalfe.

CAP. LIII

Howe the kyng of England besieged the cyte of Tourney with great puysance.

THE Frenche kyng after the departure of these lordes fro the counsell of Vyllenort, he knewe the most part of their determynacion. Than he sent to Tourney the chefe men of warr of all Fraunce, as therle of Ewe, the yong erle of Guynes, his sonne, constable of Fraunce,[1] therle of Foytz,[2] and his bretherne, therle Amery of Narbon, sir Aymer of Poyters, sir Geffray of Charney, sir Gararde of Mountfaucon, the two marshals, sir Robert Bertrand, and sir Mathue de Troy,[3] the lorde of Caieux, the senesshall of Poyctou, the lord of Chastelayn, and sir John of Landas, and these had with them valyant knyghtes and squyers. They came to Tourney, and founde there sir Godmar du Fay, who was ther before: than they toke regarde to the provisyon of the towne, as well to the vytels, as to thartyllerie and fortifycacion, and they caused to be brought out of the contrey there about, whete, otes, and other provysion.

[1] *The Comte d'Eu was Constable.*
[2] *Foix.*
[3] *Trie.*

Nowe let us retourne to the kyng of Englande. Whan the tyme aproched that he and his alyes shuld mete before Tourney, and that the corne beganne to rype, he departed for Gaunt with vii. erles of his contrey, viii. prelates, xxviii. baronettes, ii. C. knyghtes, foure thousande men of armes, and ix. M. archers, besyde fotemen. All his hoost passed through the towne of Andewarpe,[4] and so passed the ryver of Lescalt, and lodged before Tourney, at the gate called saynt Martyne, the way towarde Lysle and Doway. Than anone after came the duke of Brabant with mo than xx. M. men, knyghtes, squyers, and commons, and he lodged at the brige of Aryes, by the ryver of Lescalt, bytwene thabbey of saynt Nycholas, and the gate Valentenoys. Next to hym came therle of Heynault, with a goodly company of his contrey, with many of Holande and Zelande, and he was loged bytwene the kynge and the duke of Brabaunt. Than came Jaques Dartvell, with mo than lx. thousande Flemmynges,

[4] for *Oudenarde.*

CAP. LIII

Howe the kyng of England besieged the cyte of Tourney with great puysance.

besyde them of Ipre, Propingne,[1] Cassell, Bergues, and they were set on the other syde, as ye shall here after. Jaques Dartvell lodged at the gate saynt Fountayne; the duke of Guerles, therle of Jullers, the marques of Blanquebourc, the marques of Musse, therle of Mons, therle of Sauynes, the lord of Falquemount, sir Arnolde of Baquechen, and all the Almayns, were lodged on the other syde, towarde Heynalt. Thus the cytie of Tourney was envyroned rounde about, and every hoost myght resort eche to other, so that none coulde yssue out without spyeng.

[1] *Poperinghe.*

CAP. LIV

Howe therle of Heynalt distroyed the townes of Seclyne and Dorchyes.[2]

[2] *Orchies.*

THE sige enduring, they without wer well provyded of vytels, and at a metely price; for it came to them fro all partes. On a mornynge the erle of Heynalt, with v. hundred speres, departed fro the hoost and passed by Lysle, and brent the good towne of Seclyne, and many vyllages there about; and their currours ranne to the subarbes of Lens, in Artoyse. And after that, the erle toke an other way and rode to the towne of Dorchies, the whiche was taken and brent, for it was nat closed. And also they burnt Landas, Lycell, and dyvers other good townes there about, and over ranne the countrey, and gate great pyllage, and than retourned agayne to the hoost before Turney: also the Flemynges often tymes assayled them of Tourney, and had made shyppes, belfroys, and instrumentes of assaut; so that every day lightly there was skirmysshyng and dyverse hurt of one and other. The Flemmynges toke moche payne to trouble them of Tourney: among other assautes, ther was one endured al a day; ther was many feates of armes done, for all the lordes and knyghtes that were in Tournay were therat; for thassaut was made in shyppes and vessels wrought for the same intent, to have broken the baryers and the posterne of the arche: but it was so well defended, that the Flemmynges wanne nothyng: ther they lost a shypp, with a sixscore men, the which were

drowned, and at night they withdrue, right sore traveyled. Also this siege enduryng, the soudyours of saynt Amande yssued out, and came to Hanon, in Heynalt, and burnt the towne, and vyolated the abbey, and dystroyed the mynster, and caryed away all that they might to saynt Amande: and an other tyme the same Frenche soudyours passed the wood of saynt Amande, and came to the abbey of Vycongne, and made a great fyre at the gate, to have burnt it. Whan thabbot sawe what parell his house was in, hastely he toke his horse, and rode out prively through the wood, and came to Valencennes, desyring the provost ther to lend hym a certayne crosbowes. And whane he had his desyre, he brought them behynde Rames, and set them in the wood towarde the hyghe waye to Procelet;[1] and ther they shotte agaynst the Genowayes and Frenchmen, beyng before the gate of Vycongne: and whan they sawe and felt the quarels lyght among them commyng fro the wood, they were afrayed, and retourned as fast as they myght; and so the abbey was saved.

CAP. LIV

Howe therle of Heynalt distroyed the townes of Seclyne and Dorchyes.

[1] *Pourcelet.*

CAP. LV

How the Scottes wan agayne gret part of Scotlande whyle the siege was before Tournay.

NOWE it is to be remembred how sir Wyllyam Duglas, sonne of Wyllyam[2] Duglas brother, who dyed in Spayne, and therle of Patris,[3] therle of Surlant,[4] sir Robert of Hersey,[5] sir Symonde Fresyell,[6] and Alysander Ramsay, they were captayns in suche parte of Scotlande as was left unwonne by thenglysshmen. And they had contynued in the forest of Gedeours[7] the space of vii. yere, wynter and somer; and as they might they made warre agaynst thenglysshmen beyng ther in garyson. Somtyme they had good adventure, and somtyme yvell: and whyle the kyng of Englande was at siege before Tournay, the French kyng sent men of warr into Scotlande, and they arryved at saynt Johannstowne.[8] And they desyred the Scottes, in the French kyngis name, that they wolde set on and make such warr in the realme of England, that the kyng might be fayne to retourne home to rescue his owne realme,

[2] *James.*
[3] *Earl Patrick, of Dunbar.*
[4] *Sutherland.*
[5] *Erskine.*
[6] *Fraser.*
[7] *Jedworth.*
[8] *Perth.*

CAP. LV

How the Scottes wan agayne gret parte of Scotlande.

and to leave up the sige at Tourney; and the Frenche kyng promysed them men and money to ayde them so to do. And so the Scottes departed out of the forest of Gedeours,[1] and passed thorough Scotlande, and wanne agayne dyverse fortresses, and so past the towne of Berwyke and the ryver of Tyne, and entred into the contrey of Northumberlande, the which somtyme was a realme. Ther they founde gret plentie of beestes, and wasted and brent all the contrey of Durame; than they retourned by an other way, dystroyeng the countrey. In this voyage they distroyed more than thre dayes journey into the realme of Englande, and thane retourned into Scotlande, and conquered agayne all the fortresses that were holden by the Englysshmen, except the cyte of Berwyke and thre other castels, the which dyd them great trouble. They were so stronge, that it wolde have ben harde to have founde any suche in any countrey; the one was Strumelyn,[2] an other Rosbourg,[3] and the third the chyefe of all Scotlande, Edenborowe; the whiche castell standeth on a hygh rocke, that a man must rest ones or twyse or he come to the hyest of the hyll; and captayne ther was sir Water Lymosen, who before had so valiantly kept the castell of Thyne agaynst the Frenchmen. So it was that sir Wyllyam Duglas devysed a feate, and dyscoverd his intencyon to his companyons, to therle Patris, to sir Robert Fresyell, and to Alysander Ramsay; and all they agreed togyder. Than they toke a ii. C. of the wylde Scottes, and entred into the see, and made provisyon of otes, mele, coles, and wood; and so pesably thei arryved at a port, nere to the castell of Edenborowe. And in the night they armed theym, and toke a x. or xii. of their company, suche as they dyd trust best, and dyde disgyse theym in poore torne cotes and hattes, lyke poore men of the contrey; and charged a xii. small horses with sackes, some with otes, some with whete mele, and some with coles; and they dyde set all their company in a busshment, in an old distroyed abbey therby, nere to the fote of the hyll. And whan the day began to apere, covertly armed as they were, they went up the hyll with their marchandyse. And whan they were in the mydde way, sir Wyllyam Duglas and sir Symode Fresyll, disgysed as they were, went a lytell before, and came to the porter, and sayd Sir, in gret fere

[1] *Jedworth.*

[2] *Stirling.*

[3] *Roxburgh.*

CAP. LV

How the Scottes wan agayne gret part of Scotlande.

we have brought hyther otes and whetemele; and if ye have any nede therof, we woll sell it to you gode chepe. Mary, sayd the porter, and we have nede therof; but it is so erly, that I darre nat awake the captayne nor his stuarde; but let them come in, and I shall opyn the utter gate: and so they all entred into the gate of the bayles; Sir Wyllyam Duglas sawe well how the porter had the keys in his handes of the great gate of the castell.

Than whan the firste gate was opynned, as ye have harde, their horses with caryages entred in; and the two that came last, laden with coles, they made them to fall downe on the grounsyll of the gate, to thentent that the gate shulde nat be closed agayne. And than they toke the porter, and slewe hym so pesably that he neverr spake worde. Than they toke the great keys, and opynned the castell gate; than sir Wyllyam Duglas blewe a horne, and dyd cast away their torne cotes, and layed all the other sackes overthwarte the gate, to thyntent that it shulde nat be shytte agayne. And whan they of the busshment harde the horne, in all hast they might they mounted the hyll. Than the watchman of the castell, with noyse of the horne, awoke, and sawe how the peple wer commyng all armed to the castell warde. Than he blewe his horne, and cryed, Treason, treson; sirs, aryse, and arme you shortly, for yonder be men of armes aprochynge to your fortresse. Than every man arose, and armed them, and came to the gate; but sir Wyllyam Duglas and his xii. companyons defended so the gate, that they coude nat close it; and so by great valyantnesse they kept thentre opyn, tyll their busshment came. They within defended the castell as well as they might, and hurt dyvers of them without; but sir Wyllyam and the Scottes dyd so moch that they conquered the fortresse, and all thenglysshmen within slayne, excepte the captayne and sixe other squyers. So the Scottes taryed ther all that day, and made a knyght of the contrey captayn ther, called Symonde Vessey, and with hym divers other of the contrey. These tidynges came to the kyng of Englande before Tourney.

CAP. LVI

Of the great hoost that the Frenche kyng assembled to rayse the siege before Tourney.

YE have harde before howe the kynge of Englande had besieged the cyte of Tourney with mo than six-score thousande men of armes with the Flemmynges. And bycause the vytayles within the cytie beganne to mynisshe, the Frenche lordes within caused to avoyde out of the towne all maner of poore people, such as were nat furnysshed to abyde the adventure of the siege. They were put out in the opynne day, and they passed through the duke of Brabantes hoost, who shewed them grace,[1] for he caused them to be safely brought to the Frenche hoost at Aras, where as the kyng lay. And ther he made a gret assemble of men of his owne contrey, and part out of the empyre. Thyder came to hym the kyng of Behaygne, the duke of Loraygne, therle of Bare, the bysshoppe of Mets and of Coerdune,[2] therle of Mountbelieu,[3] sir John of Chalon, the erle of Gevyne,[4] the erle of Savoy, and the lorde Lewes of Savoy his brother. All these lordes came to serve the Frenche kynge with all their powers. Also thyder came the duke of Bretaygne, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Borbone, therle of Alanson, therle of Flanders, therle Forestes, therle Arminacke, therle of Bloyes, sir Charles of Bloyes, therle of Harcourt, therle Dammartyn, the lorde Coucy, and dyvers other lordes and knightes. And after came the kyng of Navarr with a goodly nombre of men a warre out of the contrey in France that he helde of the Frenche kyng, and therby he came to serve hym: also there was the kynge of Scottes, with a certayne nombre apoynted to hym.

[1] *their grefe* P.

[2] *Verdun.*

[3] *Montbeliard.*

[4] *Geneva.*

CAP. LVII

Howe the soudyers of the garyson of Bohayne[1] dystrussed certayne soudyers of Mortayne before the towne of Conde.

[1] *Bouchain.*

WHAN all these sayde lordes were come to Aras to the Frenche kyng, than he removyd and came to a lytell ryverr, a thre leages fro Turney: the water was depe, and rounde about full of marysshes, so that no man coude passe but by a lytell way, so narowe, that two horses coude nat passe a fronte; there the kyng lay and passed nat the ryver, for he durst nat. The next day the hoostes lay styll: some of the lordes counsayled to make bridges to passe over the water at their ease: than ther wer men sent to advyse the passage; and whan they had well advysed every thyng, they thought it was but a lost labour, and so they shewed the kynge, howe that ther was no passage but at the brige of Cressyn.[2] Thus the mater abode in the same case; the tidynges anone spred abrode howe the Frenche kyng was lodged bytwene the bridge of Cressyn, and the bridge of Bouves,[3] to thentent to fight with his ennemies; so that all maner of people, suche as desyred honoure, drue to the one part and to the other, as they owed their servyce or favoure. Ther were thre Almayns, bretherne in Bouhaygne: whan they harde howe these two kynges aproched nere togyder, be likelyhode to fight, than two of them desyred the iii. to abyde styll and kepe the fortress, and they sayd, they wolde go and se what chere there was before Tourney. So these two knyghtes departed, one of them was called sir Courrat Dastra, and the other, sir Courrat Lancenuch, and they rode tyll they came to Escampons, besyde Valencens, thinkyng to passe the ryver of Lescalt, at Conde. And bytwene Fresnes, and Escampons, they harde a gret brunt of men, and sawe howe some came fleyng to themwarde: the two bretherne had with them to the nombre of xxv. speares, and they encountred the first, and demaunded what they ayled, so to fle away; In the name of God, sir, quoth they, the soudyers of Mortayne

[2] *Pont à Tressin.*

[3] *Bouvines.*

CAP. LVII

Howe the soudyers of the garyson of Bohayne dystrussed certayne soudyers of Mortayne.

ar yssued out, and they have get a great pray, and are goynge therwith towarde their fortresse, and also have taken dyvers prisoners of this countrey. Than the two bretherne sayd, Sirs, can ye lede us ther as they be; and they sayde Yes. And so they went after the Frenchmen by the gyding of those poore men, and the Frenchmen were as than nere to our lady in the wood, and wer a sixscore soudyers, and drave before them C. great beestes, and certayne prisoners of the men of the contrey; and their captayne was a knyght of Burgone, called John de Frelays, parteyninge to the lorde of Beaujeu. Assone as the Almayns sawe them, they ascryed them, and ran in fiersly among them; ther was a sore fight; the Burgonyon knyght dyd put hymselfe to defence, and some of his company, but nat all, for ther were dyvers that fled, but they were so nere chased, what with the Almayns, and with the men of the countrey, that ther scaped but a fewe, other slayne or taken; sir John de Frelays was taken, and all the pray rescued, and rendred agayne to the men of the contrey: and after that adventure, the Almayns came before Tourney, wher they were welcome.

CAP. LVIII

Of the journey that sir Wyllyam Baylleull and sir Valflart de la Croyse made at the bridge of Cressyn.[1]

[1] *Tressin.*

ANONE after, the Frenche kyng was lodged thus at the bridge of Bouves, a company of Heynous, by the settyng on of sir Wyllyam Bayllule, and the lorde Vauflart de la Croyse, who sayd howe they knewe all the contrey, and that they wolde bring them into such a place on the Frenche hoost, that they shulde have some wynnynge. And so on a mornyng they departed fro thoost, about sixscore companyons, knyghtes, and squyers, and they rode towarde Pont de Cressyn, and made the lorde Bayllule to be as chefe, and that to his baner every man shulde drawe. Nowe the same mornyng rode forthe certayne nombre of the Legoys of the French party, wherof syr Robert de Baylleull,

brother to the foresayd sir Wyllyam Baylleull, was chefe captayn; so ther were two bretherne on dyvers parties: the Lyegois had passed the bridge of Cressyn, and were a forag-yng for their horses, and to se if they coude fynde any ad-venture profitable for them. The Heynowes rode all that mornyng without fyndyng of any adventure, and they also passed the bridge; ther was such a myst, that a man coude nat se the length of a spere before hym: and whan the Heynous were all over, than they ordayned that sir Wyllyam Baylluell, with his baner, shulde abyde on the bridge, and sir Vauflart, sir Raflet de Monceaux, and sir John de Ver-chyne shulde adventure on farther. And so they went so farr, that they dasshed into thoost of the kynge of Behayne, and the bysshoppe of Liege, for they were lodged nere to the bridge, and the lorde of Rademache had made watche the same nyght, and it was at the poynt of his departyng. So bytwene them ther was a sore conflict. Howbeit, fynally, the Heynous drue back towarde the brige, and the Liegoys, and Lucembourzins,[1] folowed them, and sir Wyllyam Bayl-leull was counselled to repasse agayne the bridge with his baner, for thei had dyvers of their company to repasse; so the Heynous repassed agayne as well as they might, and in their passynge ther were many dedes of armes done, in takynge, and rescuyng agayne. So it fortuned that sir Vauflart coude nat repasse the brige, and so was fayne to save hymselfe as well as he might: he yssued out of the preace, and toke a way that he knewe well, and so entred into the marshes, among busshes and rockes, and ther taryed. The other fought styll at the brige, and ther the Liegoys overcame syr Wyllyam Baylleuls company. And ther-with, sir Robert Baylleull, whan he harde that noyse in that parte, he came rynning thyder with his baner before hym, and whan the Heynowes sawe the baner of Moraynes,[2] they byleved it had ben the baner of sir Wyllyam Bayllule, and drue thyder, for ther was but a small dyfference bytwene their baners: for the armes of Morians be barres, counter-barres, two chevrons gowles; and in the chevron of syr Robert Baylleull ther was a lytell crosse golde, which the Heynous toke no hede of, wherby they were disconfyted, and slayne John de Vergny, sir Water du Pont de Large, sir

[1] *Luxem-burgers.*

[2] *Morialmé.*

CAP. LVIII

Of the journey that sir Wyllyam Baylleull and sir Valflart de la Croyse made at the bridge of Cressyn.

CAP. LVIII
Of the journey that sir Wyllyam Baylleull and sir Valflart de la Croyse made at the bridge of Cressyn.

Wyllyam of Pypempoix, and dyvers other, and taken sir John de Soyre, sir Danyell de Bleze, sir Race de Monceaux, sir Loys Dampelen, and dyvers other, and sir Wyllyam de Baylleul scaped as well as he might, but he lost moche of his company: syr Vauflart de la Croyse, who was in the marysshe, trustyng to have ben ther tyll it had ben night, and so to have scaped, was spyed by some that rode alonge by the marese; and they made suche an outcry on hym, that he came out and yelded hymselfe prisoner; they toke and brought hym to the hoost, and delyvered hym to their maister, who wolde gladly have saved him, for he knewe well he was in jeopardy of his lyfe. Anone, tidynges of hym was brought to the French kyng, who incontynent dyd send for hym, and the kyng immediately sent hym to Lyle, bycause he had done to them moche damage; and so within the towne they dyd put him to deth: they wold in no wyse have pyte of hym, nor put hym to any ransome.

CAP. LIX

Howe therle of Heynault assayled the fortresse of Mortayne in Picardy by dyvers maners.

OF this dede that sir Robert Bayllieull had done the Frenche kyng was ryght joyouse; and within a season after, the erle of Heynault, sir John, his uncle, and the seneshall of Heynalt, with a vi. hundred speares, Heynowes, and Almayns, departed fro the siege of Turney. And therle sent to them of Valencens, that they shulde come and mete with hym before Mortayne, and to come bytwene Lescharpe,[1] and Lescault, to assayle Mortayne: and they came thyder in great array, and brought with them great engyns. The lorde of Beaujeu, who was captayne within Mortayn, greatly douted assautyng, bycause the fortresse stode nere to the ryver and nere to Heynault, as on all parties; therfore he caused xii. C. pyles to be driven in the ryver, to thyntent that no passage shulde be that way. Howbeit, for all that the erle of Heynault, and the Heynous came thyder on the one syde, and they of Valencens on the other part, and incontynent they made an

[1] *The Scarpe.*

CAP. LIX

Howe therle of Heynault assayled the fortresse of Mortayne in Picardy.

assaut, and aproched the barrers; but ther were suche depe trenches, that they coude nat come nere. Than some advysed to passe the ryver of Lescharpe, and so to come on the syde towarde saynt Amand, and to make an assaut at the gate toward Maulde; and as they devysed, a foure hundred passed the ryver: so than Mortayne was closed in thre partes, the wekyst syde was towarde Mauld; howbeit, ther was strength ynough. To that parte came the lorde Beaujeu hymselfe to defende it, for he feared none of the other sydes. He had in his hande a great glave, sharpe and well stelyd, and above the blade, ther was a sharpe hoke of stele, that whan he gave his stroke, the hoke shulde take holde: and loke on whome that it fastened, he came to hym, or els fell in the water; by that meanes the same day he cast into the water mo than xii. at that gate the assaut was feresyst. The erle of Heynalt, who was on the other syde, knewe nothyng of that assaut; he was araynged alonge the ryver syde of Lescault, and devysed howe they might get out of the ryver the pyles byforce, or by subtyltie, for than they might come just to the walles. They ordayned to make a shyppe and a gret engyn to drawe out the pyles, eche one after other; their carpenters were set awarke, and the engyn made in a shyppe; and the same day, they of Valencens raysed on their syde a great engyn, and dyd cast in stones, so that it sore troubled them within. Thus the first day passed, and the night, in assayling and devysing howe they might greve them in the fortresse; the nexte day they went to assaut on all partes, and the thirde day the shyppe was redy, and thengyn to drawe out the pyles, and than dyd set awarke to drawe them out, but ther were so many, and suche labour in the doyng, or they coude drawe out one, that they were wery of that craft, and the lordes wolde they had never begon it, and so commaunded to cease their warke. On the other part within Mortayne, there was a connyng maister in makyng of engyns, who sawe well howe thengyn of Valencens dyd greatly greve them. He raysed an engyn in the castell, the which was nat very great, but he trymmed it to a poynt; and he cast therwith but three tymes, the firste stone fell a xii. foot fro thengyn without, the seconde fell nerer, and the thirde stone hit so evyn, that

CAP. LIX
Howe therle of Heynault assayled the fortresse of Mortayne in Picardy.

it brake clene asonder the shaft of thengyn without. Than the soudyers of Mortaygne made a great shout; so thus the Heynous coude get nothyng ther. Than therle sayd, howe he wolde withdrawe, and go agayne to the siege of Tourney: and so they dyd, and they of Valencens retourned to their towne.

CAP. LX

Howe therle of Heynault toke the towne of saynt Amande duryng the siege before Tourney.

THRE dayes after that therle of Heynault was retourned fro Mortaygne, he desyred certayne companyons to go to saynt Amande, for he had dyvers complayntes, how the soudyers of saynt Amand had burnt thabbey of Hanon, and had nere brent Vycoigne, and had done many dispytes to the fronters of Heynalt. So therle departed fro the sige with a iii. M. men, and came before saynt Amand, on the syde towarde Mortayne. The towne was nat closed but with pales, and captayne ther was a knyght of Languedoke, the senesshall of Carcassone, who had sayd to the monkes of thabbey ther, and to them of the towne, that it was nat able to holde agaynst an hoost; howbeit, he sayd, rather than he wolde depart, he wolde kepe it to the best of his power: but that he sayd was in the maner of counsell, howbeit, his wordes was nat byleved. But long before the juels of the abbey were caryed to Mortaygne, for the more suretie, and thyder went the abbot and all his monkes, for they were no men of warr. And they of Valencennes came at therles commaundement with a xii. thousande men, and all the crosbowes, kept the gate towarde the bridge of Lesharpe; ther began a ferse assaut, and many sore hurts on bothe parties. This asaut endured all the day; they of Valencens coude get nothynge ther; they within scorned and mocked them, and sayd, Sirs, go your way, and drink your good ale; and agaynst night, they of Valencennes withdrewe right wery, and had gret marveyle that they coude here no tidynges of therle their lorde, and therfore they dysloged, and drewe towarde their towne. The next mornyng betymes, therle departed fro

CAP. LX

Howe therle of Heynault toke the towne of saynt Amande.

Turney and came to saynt Amand, on the syde towarde Mortayne; and incontynent they made assaute, feers and cruell, and wan at the first the bayles, and came to the gate towarde Mortaygne; and ther therle and his uncle made a great assaut, and eche of them had such a stroke on the heed with stones, that their basenettes were cloven, and their heedes sore astonyed. At last, one sayd to therle, Sir, this way we shall never entre, the way is strayet and strongly kept; but sir, make great rammes of wood, like pyles, and let us ronne with them agaynst the abbey walles, and we shall peerse it through in dyvers places, and if we get thabbey, the towne is ours; than therle commaunded so to be done. And anone, gret peaces of tymber wer gote, and made sharpe before, and to every pece, twentie or xxx. persons, ronnyng therwith agaynst the wall, so that they brake the wall in dyvers places, and valyantly entred ther, and passed a lytell ryver that ranne within. And ther was redy the seneshall of Carcassone, his baner before hym, the which was goules, a sheffe sylver, thre chevrons in the sheffe, bordred sylver indented; and he and his company defended valyantly the Heynowes as long as they might, but their defence coude nat avayle, for the Heynowes wer so many: and in their entryng into thabbey, ther was a monke called danne Frossart, who dyde marvels, for he kylled and hurt at the hole ther as he stode an xviii. so that none durst entre in at that place, but finally he was fayne to depart, for he sawe howe the Henous entred into the abbey in dyvers places: and soo the monke saved hymselfe as well as he might, and went to Mortayne. Whan therle and his company wer entred into thabbey, he commaunded that all shulde be put to the swerde, they had so sore dyspleased hym, and done suche hurt in his contrey. The towne anone was full of men of armes, and they within chased and sought for, fro strete to strete, and in every house, so that fewe scaped, but all wer slayne; the seneshall was slayne under his standarde, and a ii. C. men rounde about hym; and agaynst night, therle retourned to Turney. The next day, they of Valencens came agayne to saynt Amand, and brent clene the towne, and thabbey minster and all, and brake all the belles, the which were goodly.

CAP. LX
Howe therle of Heynault toke the towne of saynt Amande.

Another day, therle agayne departed fro the siege with vi. C. men of armes, and went and brent Orchies, Landas, and the Chell, and than passed by Hanon the ryver of Lesharpe, and went into France to a great abbey, and a ryche, called Marchienes, wherof sir Amye of Vernaulx[1] was captayne, and with hym certayne crosbowes of Doway. Ther therle made assaut, for the captayne had well fortifyed the firste gate with great depe dykes, and the Frenchmen and monkes ther defended themselfe right nobly. The Heynous at last gate them botes and barges, and therby entred into thabbey; but there was a knyght of Almayne drowned, a companyon of the lorde Falquemont, called sir Bacho de la Wyer; therle and his uncle, and the seneshall, dyd at the gate so valyantly, that the gate was wone, and sir Amye and his company slayne or taken; and ther were taken dyvers monkes, and thabbey robbed and brent, and the towne also: than therle retourned to the siege before Tourney.

[1] *Vervaux.*

CAP. LXI

Of the takyng of Charles Mommorency and dyvers other Frenchemen at the bridge of Cressyn.[2]

[2] *Pont à Tressin.*

THIS siege before Tourney was long and great, and the kyng of England supposed ever to wyn it, for he knewe well ther were moche people within, and but scant of vytayle, wherfore he thought to famyssh them: and some sayde, they founde somme courtesy in theym of Brabaunt, in sufferynge vytayles to passe through their hoost into the cyte; and they of Brussels and Lovane wer sore wery with taryeng ther so long, and they desyred the marshall of thost, that they might have leave to retourne into Brabant. The marshall sayd, he was well content, but than they must leve all their harnes behynde them: with the which answere they were so ashamed that they never spake therof more.

Nowe I shall shewe you of a journey that the Almayns made at the same bridge of Cressyne, wher as sir Robert Bayllule dysconfitted the Heynowes, as the lorde of Rauderondence and sir John his son, John Randebourg,

CAP. LXI

Of the takyng of Charles Mommorency and dyvers other Frenchemen.

esquyer, syr Arnolde of Baquehen, sir Raynolde Descouvenort, sir Rorrant Dasto, sir Bastyen de Bastes, and Candrelyer, his brother, sir Strauren de Leurne, and dyverse other of the duchy of Jullers, and of Guerles.[1] All these rode forthe on a day, and also they had with them certayne bachellers of Heynalt; as sir Floren of Beauryon,[2] sir Latas de la Hey marshall of thoost, sir John of Heynalt, syr Oulphart of Guystels, sir Robert Glennes of therldome of Loz, and dyvers other: they wer a thre C. they came to the bridge of Cressyn, and passed without danger. Than they toke counsell what they shulde do, and it was thought moste for their honour to go and awake the French host; ther it was ordayned that the lorde Rauderondence, and his son, sir Henry of Keukren, sir Tylman of Sausey, sir Olphart of Guystels, sir Lalemant, bastarde of Heynalt, Robert of Glennes, and Jaquelat of Tyaulx, shulde ryde, and sodenly dasshe into the Frenche host; and the other knyghtes and squyers, to the nombre of thre C. shulde abyde styll at the brige, to kepe the passage. Thus these currours rode forthe to the nombre of a xl. speres, tyll they came to thoost, and so dassht in and overthrue tentes and pavilyons, and skirmysshed with the Frenchmen. The same night, two great barons of France had kept the wache, that is to say, the lorde of Mommorency, and the lorde of Salieu. And whan they harde the noyse, they came with their baners to that part; than the Almayns retourned towarde the brige, and the Frenchmen after them feersly; and in the chase, sir Olphart of Guystels, was taken, for he was purblynde, and also two bretherne, Mondrope and Jaquelet Tyaulx; they wer so nere togyder, that ech of them understode others langage. And the Frenchmen sayd to the Almayns, Sirs, ye shall nat scape thus: than one sayd to the lorde of Rauderondence, Sir, take good hede, for methynke the Frenchmen wyll be at the bridge or we. Well sayd he, though they knowe one way, I knowe another; than he tourned on the right hande, and toke a way nat moche used, the which brought thym and his company to the foresayd ryver, the which was so depe, and envyroned with maresshes, that they coude nat passe ther, so that they were fayne to repasse by the bridge; and the Frenchemen ever rode a great galoppe

[1] *Gueldres.*
[2] *Beaurieu.*

CAP. LXI
Of the takyng of Charles Mommorency and dyvers other Frenchemen.

towarde the bridge, and whane they came nere to the brige, and sawe that great busshment ther, they sayd among themselfe, I trowe we chase folysshly, we might lightly lese, rather than wyn. Than dyvers of them retourned, and specially the lorde of saynt Saulieu, with his baner and his company: and the lorde Charles of Mommorency, with his baner, rode ever forwarde and wold nat recule, and so with great courage sette on the Almayns. At the first brunt ther was a feerse encounter, and dyverse overthrowen on bothe parties. Than came in on thother syde, thother Almayns, and so enclosed in the Frenchmen. The lorde Renolde of Dyscouvenort knewe well the baner of the lorde Mommorency, who was under his banner, with his swerde in his hand, fightyng on every syde, and so came sodenly on his right hande, and with his lyft hande, he toke the bridell of the lorde Mommorencies horse, and spurred forthe his owne horse, and so drewe hym out of the batayle; and ever the lorde Mommorency strake and gave hym many great strokes, the which some he receyved, and some he defended. But finally, ther he was taken prisoner; so the Almayns dyde so moche, that they obtayned the place, and toke a fourscore prisoners of gentylmen: than they repassed the bridge without any danger, and so came agayne to the siege before Tourney.

CAP LXII

Howe the Flemmynges were before saynt Omers duryng the siege.

NOW let us shewe of an adventure that fell to the Flemmynges, of the whiche company ther were captayns sir Robert Dartoyse, and sir Henry of Flanders: they wer in nombre a xl. M. what of the townes of Ippre, Propyngne, Messynes, Cassell, and of the Catelayne of Bergus:[1] all these Flemmynges lay in the vale of Cassell in tentes and pavylions, to countergaryson the French garysons, that the French kynge had layed at saynt Omers, at Ayre, at saynt Venaunt, and in other townes and forteresses there aboute. And in saynt Omers there was therle dolphyne of Auvergne, the lorde of Kalengen,[2]

[1] *Castlewick of Bergues.*

[2] *Chalençon.*

CAP. LXII

Howe the Flemmynges were before saynt Omers.

the lorde of Montaygu, the lorde of Rocheforte, the vycount of Touars, and dyvers other knyghtes of Auvergne and Lymosyn. And in Ayre and saynt Venant ther were also many soudyers, and often tymes they yssued out and skirmysshed with the Flemmynges. On a day iiii. M. went to the subarbes of saynt Omers and brake downe dyvers houses and robbed them; the fray anon was knowen in the towne, and the lordes within armed them and their company, and yssued out at another gate: they were a vi. baners, and a ii. C. men of armes, and a vi. C. fotemen, and they came by a secrete way on the Flemmynges, who were besy to robbe and pyll the towne of Arkes, nere to saynt Omers. There they were spredde abrode without captayne, or good order; than the Frenchmen came on them in good order of batell, their baners displayed, cryeng Cleremont, the dolphyne of Auvergne: wherwith the Flemmynges were abasshed, and beatyn downe by hepes; and the chase of them endured ii. leages, and ther were slayne a iiii. M. and viii. C. and a iiii. C. taken prisoners, and ledde to saynt Omers. And suche as fledde and scaped retourned to the hoost, and shewed their companyons their adventure; and at last tidynges therof came to their captayns, sir Robert Dartoyse, and sir Henry of Flanders, who sayd, it was well enployed, for they went forthe without commaundement, or capitayne. And the same nyght, or it was mydnight, the Flemynges lyeng in their tentes aslepe, sodenly generally among them all, ther fell suche a feare in their hertes, that they rose in great haste, and with suche payne, that they thought nat to be dysloged tyme ynough; they bete downe their owne tentes, and pavilyons, and trussed all their caryages, and so fledde away, nat abyding one for another, without kepyng of any right way. Whan these tidynges came to their two captayns, they rose hastely and made gret fiers, and toke torches and mounted on their horses, and so came to these Flemmynges, and sayd, Sirs, what ayleth you, do you want any thyng, why do you thus flye away, be you nat well assured? retourne in the name of God, ye be to blame thus to flye, and no man chase you. But for all their wordes, every man fledde the next way to their owne houses. And whan these lordes sawe none other remedy, they trussed all their harnes

CAP. LXII Howe the Flemmynges were before saynt Omers.

in waganes, and retourned to the hoost before Tourney, and ther shewed the adventure of the Flemmynges, wherof every man had marveyle: some sayd they were overcome with fantyses.

CAP. LXIII

Howe the siege before Tourney was broken up by reason of a truse.

THIS siege endured a long season, the space of a xi. wekes, thre dayes lesse; and all that season the lady Jane of Valoys, suster to the Frenche king, and mother to therle of Heynalt, traveyled gretly, what on the one part and on thother, to have a respyte and a peace bytwene the parties, so that they might depart without batayle. And dyvers tymes she kneled at the fete of the Frenche kyng in that behalfe, and also made great labour to the lordes of thempyre, and specially to the duke of Brabant, and to the duke of Jullers, who had her doughter in maryage, and also to sir John of Heynalt. So moch the good lady procured with the ayde and counsell of Loys Daugymont, who was wel beloved with both parties, that it was graunted, that eche partie shulde sende foure sufficyent persons, to treat on some good way to acorde the parties, and a truse for thre dayes; these apoynters shuld mete in a lytell chapell, standyng in the feldes called Esplotyn. At the day apoynted these persons mette, and the good lady with them: of the Frenche partie, ther was Charles kyng of Behayne, Charles erle Dalanson, brother to the Frenche kyng, and the bysshoppe of Liege, therle of Flanders, and therle of Armynack; of thenglysshe partie, there was the duke of Brabant, the bysshop of Lincolne, the duke of Guerles, the duke of Jullers, and sir John of Heynalt. And whan they were all met, they made ech to other gret salutacyons, and good chere, and than entred into their treaty. And all that day they comuned on dyvers ways of acorde, and alwayes the good lady of Valoys was a mong them, desyringe effectuously all the parties, that they wolde do their labour to make a peace; howbeit, the first day passed without any thing doyng; and so they retourned, and

promysed to mete agayne the next day: the whiche day they came togyther agayne in the same place, and so fell agayne into their treaty; and so fell unto certayne poyntes agreeable: but it was as thanne so late, that they coude nat put it in writynge as that day; and to make an ende, and to make perfyght the mater if they might, the thirde day they met agayne, and so finally acorded on a truse, to endure for a yere bytwene all parties, and all ther men; and also bytwene them that were in Scotlande, and all suche as made warr in Gascoyne, Poyctou, and in Santon;[1] and this treuse to begyn the xl. day next ensuyng, and within that space every partie to gyve knowlege to his men without mallengyn; and if suche companyes woll nat kepe the peace, let them be at their chose. But as for France, Pycardy, Burgoyne, Bretayne, and Normandy, to be bounde to this peace, without any excepcyon; and this peace to begyn incontynent bytwene the hostes of the two kynges. Also it was determyned, that bothe parties, in eche of their names, shulde sende foure or fyve personages as their embassodours and to mete at Arras; and the pope in likwyse to sende thyder foure, and ther to make a full confirmacyon without any meane. Also by this truse, every partie to enjoy and possede all and every thynge, that they were as than in possessyon of. This truse incontynent was cryed in bothe hoostes, wherof the Brabances were right gladde, for they were sore wery with so long lyeng at the siege; so that the nexte day, assone as it was day lyght, ye shulde have sene tentes taken downe, charyotes charged, and people remove so thycke, that a man wold have thought to have sene a newe worlde. Thus the good towne of Tourney was safe without any great damage; howebeit they within endured gret payne, their vytayls began to fayle, for, as it was sayd, they had as than scant to serve them a thre or foure dayes at the moost. The Brabances departed quickely, for they had grete desyre therto: the kyng of Englande departed sore agaynst his mynde, if he might have done otherwyse, but in maner he was fayne to folowe the wylles of the other lordes, and to byleve their counsayls. And the Frenche kynge coude abyde no lengar there as he lay, for the yvell ayre, and the wether hote: so the Frenchmen had the honour of

CAP. LXIII

Howe the siege before Tourney was broken up by reason of a truse.

[1] *Saintonge.*

CAP. LXIII
Howe the siege before Tourney was broken up by reason of a truse.

that journey, bycause they had rescued Tourney and caused their ennemies to departe. The kyng of Englande and the lordes on his partie, sayd how they had the honour, by reason that they had taryed so long within the realme, and besieged one of the good townes therof, and also had wasted and burnt in the Frenche contrey, and that the Frenche kynge had nat rescued it in tyme and hour, as he ought to have done, by gyvyng of batayle, and finally agreed to a truse, their ennemies beyng styll at the siege, and brennyng his contrey. Thus these lordes departed fro the siege of Tourney, and every man drewe to his owne. The kynge of Englande came to Gaunt to the quene his wyfe, and shortly after passed the see, and all his, except suche as shulde be at the parlyament at Arras. Therle of Heynalt retourned to his contrey, and helde a noble feest at Mons, in Heynault, and a great justes; in the which Gararde of Verchyn, seneshall of Heynault dyd just, and was so sore hurt, that he dyed of the stroke; he had a sonne called Johann, who was after a good knyght, and a hardy, but he was but a whyle in good helthe. The French kyng gave leave to every man to departe, and went hymselfe to Lyle, and thyder came they of Tourney, and the kyng receyved them joyously, and dyd shewe them gret grace: he gave them frely their franches, the which they had lost longe before: wherwith they were joyouse, for sir Godmer du Fay, and dyvers other knyghtes had ben long governours ther; than they made newe provost, and jurates, acordynge to their auncyent usages; than the kyng departed fro Lyle, to go to Parys.

Nowe than came the season that the counsayle shulde be at Arras: and for pope Clement, thyder came in legacyon, the cardynall of Napuls, and the cardynall of Cleremont, who came to Parys, wher as the kyng made theym moche honour, and so came to Arras; for the Frenche kyng, ther was therle of Alanson, the duke of Burbon, therle of Flaunders, therle of Bloys, the archebysshoppe of Senes, the bysshop of Beawayes,[1] and the bysshoppe of Aucerre: and for the kyng of England, ther was the bysshop of Lyncolne, the bysshoppe of Durame, therle of Warwyke, sir Robert Dartoyse, sir John of Heynalt, and sir Henry of Flanders. At the whiche treaty ther were many maters put forthe, and

[1] *Beauvais.*

so contynued a xv. dayes, and agreed of no poynt of effect: for thenglysshmen demaunded, and the frenchmen wolde nothyng gyve, but all onely to rendre the countie of Poyctou, the which was gyven with quene Isabell in maryage with the kyng of Englande. So this parlyament brake up and nothyng done, but the truse to be relonged two yeres lengar: that was all that the cardynals coude get. Than every man departed, and the two cardynals went through Heynault at the desyre of therle, who feested them nobly.

CAP. LXIII Howe the siege before Tourney was broken up by reason of a truse.

CAP. LXIIII

Nowe speketh the hystorie of the warres of Bretayne, and howe the duke dyed without heyre, wherby the dyscencion fell.

WHAN that this sayde trewse was agreed and sayled before the cyte of Turney, every lord and all maner of people dysloged, and every man drue into his owne contrey. The duke of Bretayne, who had ben with the French kyng, as well furnysshed as any other prince that was ther, departed homwarde: and in his way a sickenes toke hym, so that he dyed: at whiche tyme he had no chylde, nor had never none by the duchies, nor had no trust to have. He had a brother by the father side, called erle of Mountfort, who was as than lyveyng, and he had to his wyfe, suster to therle Loyes of Flaunders. This sayd duke had another brother, bothe by father and mother, who was as than deed: and he had a doughter alyve, and the duke, her uncle, had maryed her to the Lord Charles of Bloyes, eldyst sonne of therle Guy, of Bloyes, that the same erle had by the suster of kyng Philyppe of France, who as than raygned, and had promysed with her in maryage the duchy of Bretayne, after his dyscease. For he douted that the erle Mountfort wolde clayme the inherytance, as next of blode, and yet he was nat his proper brother germayne; and the duke thought that the doughter of his brother germayne oughte by reason to be more nere to the inherytaunce after his dycease, than therle Mountfort, his brother. And bycause he fered, that after his dycease therle of Mountfort wolde

CAP. LXIIII take away the ryght fro his yong nese, therfore he maryed her with the sayd sir Charles of Bloys, to thyntent that kyng Philyp, uncle to her housbande, shuld ayd to kepe her right agaynst therle Mountfort, yf he medyll any thynge in the mater. Assone as the erle Mountfort knewe that the duke his brother was deed, he went incontynent to Nauntes, the soverayne cytie of all Bretayne; and he dyd so moche to the burgesses, and to the people of the contrey ther about, that he was receyved as their chefe lorde, as moost next of blode to his brother dysceased, and so dyd to hym homage and fealtie. Than he and his wyfe, who had both the hertes of a lyon, determyned with their counsell to call a court, and to kepe a solempne fest at Nauntes, at a day lymitted: agaynst the which day, thei sent for all the nobles and counsails of the good townes of Bretayne, to be there, to do their homage and fealte to hym, as to their soveraygne lorde. In the meane season, or this fest began, therle Mounfort, with a great nombre of men a warr, departed fro Nauntes, and went to Lymogines,[1] for he was enformed that the tresur that his father had gadered many a day before, was ther kept secrete. Whan he came ther he entred into the cyte with gret tryumphe, and dyd hym moche honour, and was nobly receyved of the burgesses, of the clergie, and of the commons, and they all dyd hym fealtie, as to their soveraygne lorde; and by such meanes as he founde, that gret treasur was delyverd to him; and whan he had taryed there at his pleasure, he departed with all his treasur, and came to Nauntes, to the countes his wyfe. And so their they taryed in grete joye, tyll the day came of the feest, and made gret provysions against the same: and whan the day came, and no man apered for no commaundement, except one knyght, called sir Henry du Leon, a noble and a puysaunt man; so they kept the feest a thre dayes, as well as they might, with such as were ther. Than it was determyned to retayne soudyers a horsbacke, and a fote, and so to dyspende his gret tresure, to attayne to his purpose of the duchy, and to constrayne all rebels to come to mercy. So soudyers wer retayned on all sydes and largely payed, so that they had a great nombre a fote and a horsback, nobles and other of dyverse countreis.

Nowe speketh the hystorie of the warres of Bretayne.

[1] *Limoges.*

CAP. LXV

Howe therle of Mountfort toke the towne and castell of Brest.

WHAN therle of Mountfort sawe howe he had peple ynough, than he was counsayled to go and conquere all the contre, outher by love or by force, and to subdue all his rebels. Than he yssued out of the cytie of Nauntes with a great hoost, and went to a strong castell, standynge on the see syde, called Brest, and captayne therin was sir Garnyer of Clysson, a noble knyght, and one of the grettest barownes in Bretayne. Therle Mountfort or he came to Brest, he constrayned so all the countrey except the fortresses, that every man folowed hym a horsbacke or a fote: none durste do none otherwyse. Whan therle came to the castell of Brest, he caused syr Henry de Leon to sende to the captayn to speke with hym, movyng hym to obey to therle, as to the duke of Bretayne. The knight answered, he wold do nothyng after that mocyon, tyll he had otherwyse in commaundement, fro hym that ought to be lorde ther by right; and the next day, therle dyd assaut the castell. Within the castell were a iii. C. men of armes, and every man was set to his part of defence; and than the captayn toke a xl. good men of armes, and came to the barryers, and so ther was a sore assaut, and dyvers sore hurt: but finally, ther came so many assaylantes, that the bayles were wonne byfore, and the defendantes fayne to retourne into the castell, at a harde adventure, for ther were dyvers slayne: but the captayne dyd so valyantly, that he brought his company into the chyefe gate. They that kepte the warde of the gate, whan they sawe that myschyefe, feared lesyng of the castell; and sodenly they lette downe the portcolyse, and closed their owne capteyne, and certayne with him without, who right nobly defended themselfe; they were sore hurt, and in great daunger of deth, and the captayne wold never yelde hymselfe: they within cast out stones, tymber, yron, and pottes with quycke lyme, so that the assaylantes were fayne to drawe backe.

CAP. LXV
Howe therle of Mountfort toke the towne and castell of Brest.

Than they drue up a lytell of the portcolyse, and the captayne entred, and his company, such as wer left alyve with him sore wounded. The next day, therle caused certayne ingenes to be raysed, and sayde, howe that he wolde nat depart thens, tyll he had the castell at his pleasure: the thyrde day he understode howe the captayne within was deed of such hurtes as he receyved before at entrynge into the castell, and trewe it was. Than the duke Mountfort caused a great assaut to be made, and had certayne instrumentes made of tymber, to caste over the dykes to come to the harde walles; they within defended themselfe as well as they myght, tyll it was noone: than the duke desyred them to yelde, and to take hym for their duke, and he wold frely pardon them; wherupon they toke counsell, and the duke caused the assaut to cease, and fynally they yelded them, their lyves and goodes saved. Than therle of Mountfort entred into the castell with certayne nombre, and receyved the feaultie of all the men of that Chatelayne; and ther he sette to be captayne, a knyght whom he trusted moche, and than he retourned to his felde right joyouse.

CAP. LXVI

Howe therle of Mountfort toke the cytie of Renes.

WHAN the erle of Mountfort was retourned to his felde, and had stablysshed his captayns in the castell of Brest, thane he drewe towarde the cite of Renes, the which was nat farr thens: and every where as he went, he made every man to do him homage and feaulte, as to their ryght lorde, and dayly encreased his hoost; so he came before Renes, and pyght up his tentes, and lodged his peple rounde aboute the cyte, and in the subbarbes. They within made great semblant of defence; capytaine ther was sir Henry Pennefort,[1] who was well beloved for his treweth and valyantnesse. On a mornyng he yssued out with a two hundred men, and dasshed into the hoost, and bete downe tentes, and slewe dyvers: suche of the host as had kept watche the same night, drue to the noyse; than they of the fortresse withdrewe, and fledde

[1] *Espinefort.*

agayne to their castell, but they taryed so longe, that dyvers of theym were taken and slayne; and sir Henry of Penfort was taken and brought to the erle: than the erle caused hym to be brought before the cytie, and to be shewed to the burgesses, that if they wolde save his lyfe, to yelde up the towne, or els he shulde be hanged before the gates. Thane they of Renes toke counsayle, the whiche enduredde longe, for the commons had great pyte of their captayne, and he was wel beloved among them; also they consydred howe they hadde but small store of vytayle, long to defende the siege, wherfore they sayde they wolde have peace; but the great burgesses, who hadde ynough for theymselfe, wolde nat agre to yelde up the towne; so that their dyscorde multiplyed so farre, that the great burgesses who were all of one lynnage drewe aparte, and sayde, Sirs, all that woll take our parte, drawe to us; so that there drewe togyther of one affinyte and lynnage, to the nombre of a two thousande. And whan the other commons sawe that, they began to sterre, and sayde to the burgesses many evyll and vylanous wordes, and finally ran togyder, and slewe dyvers of them: than whan the burgesses sawe what myschefe they were in, they agreed to them, and sayde, they wolde as they desyred. Than ceased the fray, and all the commons ranne and opyned the gates, and yelded the cytie to therle Mountfort, and dyde homage and feaultie to hym, and toke hym as their lorde, and so dyd sir Henry Penfort, who was made of therles counsayle.

CAP. LXV

Howe therle of Mountfort toke the cytie of Renes.

CAP. LXVII

Howe the erle Mountfort toke the towne and castell of Hanybont.[1]

[1] *Hennebont.*

THUS therle of Mountfort entred into Renes with great feest and lodged his host styll in the feldes, and made the peace agayn bytwene the burgesses and the commons; than he made ther baylyffes, provost, aldermen, sergyantes, and other officers, and taryed ther thre dayes; than he dyslodged, and drue towarde the strongest castell in all Bretayn, called Hanybont, standynge

CAP. LXVII

Howe the erle Mountfort toke the towne and castell of Hanybont.

on a port of the see, and the see rennynge rounde aboute in gret dykes. Whan sir Henry of Penfort sawe how therle wolde go thyder, he feared his brother, who was captayn ther: than he came to therle in counsell, and sayd, Sir, it hath pleased you to admyt me as one of your counsaylours, and sir, I have gyven you my fayth and allegiance; I understande ye purpose to go to Hanybont: sir, knowe for trouth, the towne and the castell ar of suche strength, that they be nat easy to wynne: I thynke surely ye may well lese your tyme there a hole yere, or ye wynne it perforce; but sir, if it wyll please you to byleve me, I shal shewe you the wayes howe to wynne it: whane force can nat helpe, subtylte and craft must avayle. If ye wyll delyver me v. hundred men of armes, to be rueled as I woll have them, I shall go with them halfe a leage before your hoost, with the baner of Bretayn before me: and my brother, who is governour of the castell and of the towne, as sone as he shall se the banner of Bretayne, and knowe that it is I, he woll opyn the gates and let me entre, and all my company; and assone as I am within, I shall take hym as prisoner, and take possessyon of the towne and gates, and I shall rendre my brother into your handes, to do your pleasure with hym, without he woll obey as I woll have him; so that ye promyse me by the fayth of your body, that ye shall do his person no bodely hurte. The which request therle promysed, and sayd, If ye bringe this about, I shall love you the better ever after. Than sir Henry Penfort departed with his company apoynted, and agaynst evenynge, he came to Hanybont, and whan his brother, Olyver Penfort, knewe of his commyng, he opyned the gates and let hym entre, wenynge he had ben come to have ayded hym, and so came and mette his brother in the strete. Assone as sir Henry sawe hym, he aproched to hym, and toke hym by the arme, and sayd, Olyver, ye ar my prisoner. Howe so, quoth he, I have put my trust in you, thynkyng that ye were come hyther to ayde me to kepe this towne and castell. Brother, quoth sir Henry, the mater gothe nat so: I take possession of this towne for therle Mountfort, who is nowe duke of Bretayne, to whome I have made fealtie and homage, and the most part of the contrey hath obeyed

unto hym, and so shall you do in likewyse, and it wer better ye dyd it by love than by force, ye shall deserve the more thanke. So moche Olyver was styred by his brother that he agreed to hym; and so therle entred and toke possession of the towne and castell and set ther a gret garison. Than he went with all his host to Vennes, and made such treatie with them, that they yelded up, and dyd fealtie and homage to hym, as to their soveraygne lorde; and there he stablyssed all maner of officers, and taryed ther thre dayes. And fro thens he went and layd siege to a strong castell, called Roche Peron; captayne therin was syr Olyver of Clysson, cosyn germayne to the lorde Clysson; and therle lay ther at siege x. dayes, and coude fynde no wayes howe to gette the castell, it was so strong, and the captayne wolde in no wyse agre to obey, nother for fayre wordes nor foule. So the erle left that siege and departed for that tyme, and went and layd siege to another castell, a x. leages thens, called Aulroy,[1] and therin was captayne sir Geffray Malestroyt, and in his company sir Ivon of Triguyde: therle assayled the castell two tymes, but he sawe well he might rather lose ther, than wynne. Than he agreed to a truse for a day, at the instance of sir Henry de Leon, who was ever styll about hym. Soo the treaty toke such effect that they were all frendes, and the two knyghtes dyd homage to therle, and so departed, and left styll the same two knyghtes to be captayns ther, and of the contrey there about. Thanne he went to another castell, called Goy la Forest, and he that was captayne there, sawe howe therle had a great hoost, and howe the contrey was sore yelded to hym, and so by the counsell of sir Henry de Leon, with whome the captayne had ben in company in Pruce, in Granade, and in dyvers other strange contreis, he acorded with therle, and dyd hym homage, and therle left hym styll captayne ther. Than therle went to Caraches,[2] a good towne and a stronge castell, and therin ther was a bysshoppe, who was lorde therof; this prelate was uncle to sir Henry de Leon, so that by sir Henris meanes, the bysshoppe agreed with therle, and toke hym as his lorde, unto suche season as somme other shulde come, and shewe more ryght to the duchy of Bretaygne.

CAP. LXVII

Howe the erle Mountfort toke the towne and castell of Hanybont.

[1] *Aurai.*

[2] *Carhaix.*

CAP. LXVIII

Howe the erle Mountfort dyd homage to the kyng of England for the duchy of Bretayne.

THUS therle Mountfort conquered the countrey, and made hymselfe to be called duke of Bretayne: than he went to a port on the see syde, called Gredo; thane he sent his people abrode to kepe the townes and fortresses that he had won. Than he toke the see, with a certayne with hym, and so arryved in Cornwall, in England, at a port called Chepse; than he enquered where the kynge was, and it was shewed hym howe that he was at Wyndsore. Than he rode thyderwarde, and came to Wyndsore, wher he was receyved with gret joye and feest, bothe of the kyng and of the quene, and of all the lordes. Than he shewed the kynge and his counsayle howe he was in possession of the duchy of Bretayne, fallen to hym by succession, by the deth of his brother, last duke of Breten; but he feared lest that sir Charles of Bloyes, and the Frenche kynge wolde put hym out therof by puyssance, wherfore he sayd, he was come thyder to relyve, and to holde the duchy of the kyng of Englande, by fealtie and homage, for ever, so that he wolde defende hym agaynst the Frenche kynge, and all other that shulde put hym to any trouble for the mater. The kynge of Englande ymagined that his warre agaynste the Frenche kynge shulde be well fortifyed by that meanes, and howe that he coude nat have no more profitable way for hym to entre into France, than by Bretayne, remembring howe the Almayns and Brabances had done lytell or nothyng for hym, but caused hym to spende moche money; wherfore, joyously he condyscended to therle Mountfortes desyre, and there toke homage by the handes of therle, callyng hymselfe duke of Bretaygne. And ther the kyng of Englande, in the presence of suche lordes as were ther, bothe of Bretayne and of Englande, promysed that he wolde ayde, defende, and kepe hym as his liege man, agaynst every man, Frenche kyng and other. This homage and promyses were writen and sealed, and every

partie had his part delyverd; besyde that, the kynge and the quene gave to therle and to his company, many great gyftes, in such wyse, that they reputed hym for a noble kyng, and worthy to raygne in gret prosperyte. Than therle toke his leave and departed, and toke agayne the see, and arryved at the forsayd port of Gredo, in base Bretayne, and so came to Nauntes to his wyfe, who sayde howe he had wrought by good and dyscrete counsayle.

CAP. LXVIII Howe the erle Mountfort dyd homage to the kyng of England.

CAP. LXIX

Howe therle Mountfort was somoned to be at the parlyament of Parys at the request of the lorde Charles of Bloyes.

WHAN sir Charles of Bloys, who helde hymselfe rightfull inherytour to Bretaygne, by reason of his wyfe, harde howe the erle of Mountfort conquered beforce the countrey, the whiche by reason ought to be his, than he came to Parys to complayne to kyng Philyppe, his uncle: wherupon the kyng counselled with the nobles of the realme, what he might do in that matter: and it was counsaylled hym, that therle Mountfort shuld be by sufficyent messangers, somoned to apere at Parys, and ther to here what answere he wolde make. So these messangers were sent forthe, and they founde therle at Nauntes, makyng good chere, and he made to them great feest. And finally he answered, howe he wolde obey the kynges commaundement: and than made hym redy, and departed fro Nantes, and so came to Paris, with a iiii. C. horse with hym; and the next day, he and all his mounted on their horses and rode to the kynges palayse. Ther the kynge and his xii. peres, with other great lordes of Fraunce, taryed his commyng, and the lorde Charles of Blois with them: than therle entred into the kynges chambre: he was well regarded and saluted of every person; than he enclyned hymselfe to the kyng, and sayd Sir, I am come hyther at your commaundement and pleasure. Than the kyng sayd, Erle of Mountfort, for your so doyng, I can you good

CAP. LXIX
Howe therle Mountfort was somoned to be at the parlyament of Parys.

thanke; howbeit, I have marveyle, howe that ye durste undertake on you the duchy of Bretayne, wherin ye have no right, for there is another nerer than ye be, and ye wolde dysinheryt hym, and to mentayne your quarell, ye have ben with myne adversary the kynge of Englande, and as it is shewed me, ye have done hym homage for the same. Than therle sayd, Sir, byleve it nat, for surely ye ar but yvell enformed in that behalf; but syr, as for the right that ye speke of, savyng your dyspleasur, ye do me therin wrong, for syr, I knowe none so nere to my brother, that is departed, as I; if it were juged, or playnly declared by right, that there were another nerer than I, I wolde nat be rebell, nor ashamed to leave it. Well sir, quoth the kyng, ye say well, but I commaund you in all that ye holde of me, that ye depart nat out of this cytie of Parys, this xv. dayes, by the which tyme the xii. peres and lordes of my realme shall judge this mater, and than ye shall knowe what right ye have, and if ye do otherwyse, ye shall displease me. Than therle sayd, Syr, all shal be at your pleasure; thane he went fro the court to his lodgyng to dyner; whan he came to his lodgynge he entred into his chambre, and ther satte and ymagined many doutes; and finally, with a small company, he mounted on his horse, and retourned agayne into Bretayne, or the kynge or any other wyst wher he was become: some thought he had ben but a lytell sicke in his lodgyng. And whan he came to Nauntes, he shewed the countesse what he had done, and than by her counsel, he rode to all the townes and fortresses that he had wonne, and stablysshed in them good captayns and soudyers a horsbacke and fote, and dyd gyve them good wages.

CAP. LXX

Howe the duchy of Bretayne was juged to sir Charles of Bloyes.

IT is to be thought that the Frenche kynge was sore dyspleased whan he knewe that the erle of Mountforte was so departed; howbeit, he taryed tyll the xv. day, that the lordes shulde gyve their judgement on

CAP. LXX

Howe the duchy of Bretayne was juged to sir Charles of Bloyes.

the duchy of Bretayne. Whan the day came they judged it clerely to syr Charles of Bloys wyfe, who was doughter to the brother germayne of the duke, last deed, by the father syde, whom they judged to have more right than the erle Mountforte, who came by another father, who was never duke of Bretayne; another reason ther was; they sayde, though that therle of Mountfort had any right, he had forfeted it two wayes; the one, bycause he had relyved the duchy of another lorde, than of the Frenche kynge, of whom he ought to holde it; the other reason was, bycause he had broken the kynges commaundement, and disobeyed his arest and prison, as in goyng away without leave. Whan this judgement was gyven in playne audyence by all the lordes, thanne the kyng called to hym the lorde Charles of Bloys, his nephue and sayde, Fayre nephue, ye have judged to you a fayre herytage, and a great, therfore hast you, and go and conquere it agaynst hym that kepyth it wrongfully, and desyre all your frendes to ayde you, and I shall nat fayle you for my part, I shall lende you golde and sylver ynough, and shall commaunde my sonne the duke of Normandy, to go with you. Than syr Charles of Bloys inclyned hym to his uncle, thankyng hym right humbly; than he desyred the duke of Normandy his cosyn, the erle of Alanson his uncle, the duke of Burgoyne, therle of Bloys his brother, the duke of Burbone, the lorde Loys of Spayne, the lorde Jaques of Burbon, therle of Ewe constable of Fraunce, and therle of Guynes, his sonne, the vycont of Rohayne,[1] and all the other lordes that were ther; and all they sayde howe they wolde gladly go with hym and with their lorde the duke of Normandy. Than these lordes departed to make them redy and to make provysion agaynst that journey.

[1] *Rohan.*

CAP. LXXI

The lordes of Fraunce that entred into Bretayne with sir Charles of Bloys.

WHAN all these lordes of Normandy, the duke of Alanson, the duke of Burgoyne, and all other, suche as shulde go with sir Charles du Bloys, to ayde hym to conquere the duchy of Bretayne, were redy, they departed, some fro Pares and some fro other places, and they assembled togyder at the cytie of Angers, and fro thens they went to Ancennys, the which is thende of the realme on that syde, and ther taryed a thre dayes. Than they went forthe into the countrey of Bretayne, and whan they were in the feldes, they nombred their company to a fyve thousande men of armes, besyde the Genowayes, the which were a thre thousande, and thre knyghtes of Gennes dyd lede them, the one called sir Othes de Rue,[1] and thother sir Charles Germaulx,[2] and besyde that they had many crosbowes, of whome sir Galoys de la Baulme was captayne. Than all these went to a strong castell, standynge on a hyghe mountayne, called Chastonceaulx:[3] ther was thentre of Bretayne; it was furnysshed with men of warr; and captayns ther were two knyghtes of Lorayne, called syr Gyles, and sir Valeryan. The lordes of France toke counsell to besiege this castell, for they thought, if they shulde leave such a fortres behynde them it shuld do them great damage; so they beseged it rounde about, and made many assautes, specially the Genowayes dydde what they might to attayne prayse at the begynning: but they lost often tymes of their company, for they within defended themselfe so sagely, that it was longe or they toke any damage. But finally the assaylantes brought thyder so moch tymbre, wod, and fagottes, that they fylled therwith the dykes, so that they might go just to the walles: they within cast out stones, chalke, and brennynge fyre; howbeit, they without came to the fote of the walles, and had instrumentes, wherby they myght, under covert, myne the walles; than they within yelded up the castell, their lyves and goodes saved.

[1] *Doria.*

[2] *Grimaldi.*

[3] *Champtoceaux.*

CAP. LXXI

The lordes of Fraunce that entred into Bretayne with sir Charles of Bloys.

Thane the duke of Normandy, who was chiefe ther, delyvered the castell to sir Charles of Bloys as his owne, who incontynent set ther a good garyson to kepe thentre, and to conduct suche as came after theym. Than they went towarde Nantes, wher as they harde how therle of Mountfort their ennemy was; the marshals and currours of their hoost, founde by the way as they went, a good towne, closed with dykes, the which they feersly assayled; and in the town, ther were but fewe peple, and yvell armed, so that anone the towne was won, robbed, and the one half brent, and all the peple put to the swerde. This towne was called Carquesy,[1] within a iiii. or fyve leages to Nantes: the lordes lay therabout all that night, the next mornyng they drue towarde Nantes, and layed siege rounde about it, and pyght up their tentes and pavilyons.

[1] *Carquefou.*

Than the men of warre within the towne, and the burgesses armed them, and went to their defences as they were apoynted; some of the host went to the barrers to skirmyssh; and some of the soudyers within, and yong burgesses, yssued out agaynst them, so that ther were dyvers slayne and hurt on bothe parties; ther were dyverse suche skirmysshes. On a mornyng, some of the soudyers within the cytie yssued out at adventure, and they founde a xv. cartes with vytell, commyng to thoost warde, and a lx. persons to convey it; and they of the cytie were a ii. C. they set on them, and anone dysconfyted them, and slewe dyvers, and some fled away and scaped, and shewed in thoost howe it was: than some went to rescue the pray, and overtoke them nere to the barryers; ther began a great skirmysshe; ther came so many fro thoost, that they within had moch ado; howbeit, they toke the horses out of the cartes, and dyd drive them in at the gate, to thentent that they without shulde nat drive lightly away the caryages. Than other soudyers of the cytie yssued out to helpe their companyons, and also of the burgesses, to ayde their parentes; so the fray multiplyed, and dyvers were slayne, and sore hurt, on bothe parties, for alwayes people encreased fro thoost, and some newe ever yssued out of the cytie. Than at last sir Henry the captayne, sawe that it was tyme to retreyt, for by his abydinge, he sawe he might rather

CAP. LXXI

The lordes of Fraunce that entred into Bretayne with sir Charles of Bloys.

lese than wyn. Than he caused them of the cytie to drawe abacke, as well as he myght, yet they were pursued so nere, that many were slayne and taken, mo than ii. C. of the burgesses of the towne, wherof therle of Montfort blamed sore sir Henry de Leon, that he caused the retrayt so sone: wherwith sir Henry was sore dyspleased in his mynde, and after that he wold no more come to therls counsell so often as he dyd before: many had marvell why he dyd so.

CAP. LXXII

Howe the erle Mountfort was taken at Nauntes, and howe he dyed.

AS I hard reported, ther were certayne burgesses of the cite sawe howe their goodes went to wast, both without and within, and had of their chyldren and frendes in prison, and douted that wors shulde come to them after. Than they advysed and spake togyder secretly, so that finally they concluded to treat with the lordes of France, so that they myght come to have peace, and to have their chyldren and frendes clerely delyvered out of prison. They made this treatie so secretly, that at laste it was agreed that they shulde have all the prisoners delyverd, and they to set opyn one of the gates, that the Frenche lordes myght entre, to take the erle Mountfort in the castell, without doyng of any maner of hurt to the cyte, or to thynhabytantes or goodes therin; some sayed this was purchased by the meanes and agrement of sir Henry de Leon, who had ben before one of the erles chiefe counsaylours. Thus as it was devysed so it was done: in a mornyng, the Frenche lordes entred, and went streyght to the castell, and brake opyn the gates, and ther toke therle Mountfort prisoner, and ledde hym clene out of the cytie into their felde, without doyng of any more hurt in the cyte. This was the yere of our lorde God M. CCC. xli. about the feest of all sayntes. Than the lordes of Fraunce entred into the cytie with great joye: and all the burgesses and other dyd fealtie and homage to the lorde Charles of Bloys, as to their ryght soverayne lorde, and there they taryed a thre dayes

in gret feest. Than sir Charles of Bloys was counselled to abyde ther, about the cytie of Nauntes, tyll the next somer, and so he dyd; and set captayns in suche garysons as he had won; than the other lordes went to Parys to the kyng, and delyverd hym therle of Mountfort as prisoner; the kynge set hym in the castell of Loure,[1] wher as he was longe, and at last, as I harde reported, ther he dyed.

CAP. LXXII
Howe the erle Mountfort was taken at Nauntes, and howe he dyed.

[1] *The Louvre.*

Nowe let us speke of the countesse, his wyfe, who had the courage of a man, and the hert of a lyon; she was in the cytie of Renes whanne her lorde was taken, and howebeit, that she had great sorowe at her hert, yet she valyantly reconforted her frendes and soudyers, and shewed them a lytell son that she had, called John, and sayd, A syrs, be nat to sore abasshed of the erle my lorde, whom we have lost, he was but a man; se here my lytell chylde, who shal be, by the grace of God, his restorer, and he shall do for you all, and I have riches ynough, ye shall nat lacke, and I trust I shall purchase for suche a capitayne, that ye shal be all reconforted. Whan she had thus conforted her frendes, and soudyers, in Renes, than she went to all her other fortresses, and good townes, and ledde ever with her John, her yonge sonne, and dyd to them, as she dyde at Renes; and fortifyed all her garisons of every thyng that they wanted, and payed largely, and gave frely, where as she thought it well enployed. Than she went to Hanybont, and ther she and her sonne taryed all that wynter; often tymes she sent to vyset her garysons, and payed every man full well and truely their wages.

CAP. LXXIII

Howe the kyng of Englande the thyrde tyme made warre on the Scotes.

YE have harde here before that the siege beyng before Tourney, howe the lordes of Scotlande had taken agayne dyvers townes and fortresses fro thenglysshmen, such as they helde in Scotlande; ther were no mo remayning in thenglyssmens handes, but onely the castell of Esturmelyne, the cytie of Berwyke, and Rousburge. And

CAP. LXXIII the Scottes lay styll at siege, with certayne Frenchmen with them, such as kynge Philyppe had sent thyder to helpe them before Esturmelyne; and they within were so sore constrayned, that they sawe well they coude nat long endure. And whan the kynge of Englande was retourned fro the siege of Tourney, and came into his owne realme, he was counselled to ryde towarde Scotlande, and so he dyd; he rode thyderwarde bytwene Mighelmas and Al sayntes, commaundyng every man to folowe hym to Berwyke; than every man began to styrre, and to drawe thyder as they were commaunded. The kyng at last came to Yorke, and ther taryed for his people: the lordes of Scotlande wer enfourmed of the commyng of the kyng of Englande, wherfore they made sorer assautes to the castell of Esturmelyne, and constrayned so them within, with engyns and canons, that they wer fayne to yelde up the castell, savyng their lyves and membres, but nothyng they shulde cary away. These tidynges came to the kyng of Englande where as he was, thane he departed, and drewe towarde Esturmelyne, and came to Newcastell upon Tyne, and ther lodged and taryed more than a moneth, abydinge provysion for his host, the which was put on the see, bytwene saynt Andrewes tyde and All sayntes, but dyverse of their shyppes were perysshed, for they had suche tempest on the see, that small provysion came thyder; some were driven into Holande, and into Fryse,[1] wherby thenglysshe hoost had great defaute of vytayls, and every thynge was dere, and wynter at hande, so that they wyst nat wher to have forage; and in Scotlande, the Scottes had put all their goodes into fortresses: and the kyng of England had ther mo than vi. M. horsmen, and xl. M. fotemen. The lordes of Scotland after their wynning of Esturmelyne, they drue into the forestes of Gedeours,[2] and they understode well, howe the kyng of Englande lay at Newecastell with a great nombre, to brenne, and to exyle the realme of Scotlande. Than they toke counsell what they shulde do; they thought themselfe to small a company to mentayne the warr, seyng howe they had contynued the warres more than vii. yere, without heed or captayne; and yet as than they coude parceyve no socoure fro their owne kyng. Than they determyned to

Howe the kyng of Englande the thyrde tyme made warre on the Scotes.

[1] *Friseland.*

[2] *Jedworth.*

sende to the kyng of Englande, a bysshop and an abbot to desyre a truse, the which messangers departed fro Scotlande, and came to Newecastell, wher they founde the kynge. These messangers shewed to the kynge and to his counsayle the cause of their commyng; so than it was agreed a trewse to endure foure monethes, on the condycion that they of Scotlande shulde sende sufficyent embassadours into France to kyng Davyd, that without he wolde come within the moneth of May next folowing, so puyssantly as to resyst and defende his realme, els they clerely to yelde themselfe Englysshe, and never to take hym more for their kyng. So then these two prelates retourned agayne into Scotlande, and incontynent, they ordayned to sende into Fraunce, sir Robert Versay,[1] and sir Symon Fresyll,[2] and two other knyghtes, to shewe to their kynge their apoyntment. The kynge of Englande agreed the soner to this truse, bycause his hoost lacked vytayll: so he came backe agayne, and sent every man home. The Scottysshe messangers went towarde Fraunce, and toke shypping at Dover.

CAP. LXXIII
Howe the kyng of Englande the thyrde tyme made warre on the Scotes.

[1] *Erskine.*
[2] *Fraser.*

Nowe kynge Davyd, who had ben a sevyne yere in France, and knewe well that his realme was sore distroyed, thane he toke leave of the Frenche kyng, to go home into his owne contre, to confort his people. So he toke shypping, with his wyfe, and suche company as he had at a port, and dyde put hymselfe under the guyding of a maryner, Rychard Flamont; and so he aryved at a port of Moroyse,[3] or ever that any in Scotlande knewe therof; nor he knewe nothyng of the messangers that were gone into France to speke with hym, nor they knewe nat of his retournyng home.

[3] *Montrose.*

CAP. LXXIIII

Howe kyng Davyd of Scotlande came with a great hoost to Newcastell upon Tyne.

WHAN that yong kyng Davyd of Scotlande was come into his countrey, his men came about hym with great joye and solempnyte, and brought hym to the towne of saynt Johns:[4] thyder came peple fro all parties to se hym; and than every man shewed hym the

[4] *Perth.*

CAP. LXXIIII

Howe kyng Davyd of Scotlande came with a great hoost to Newcastell upon Tyne.

damages, and the dystruction that kyng Edward and thenglysshmen had done in Scotlande; than he sayd, Well, I shal be well revenged, or els lose all my realme, and my lyfe in the payne. Thane he sent messangers to all partes ferr and nere, desyring every man to helpe hym in his busynesse; at his sendyng, thyder came therle of Orkeney, a great prince and a puyssaunt, he had maryed the kynges suster. He brought a great nombre of men a warr with hym, and dyvers other lordes and knyghtes of Sovegne,[1] of Melbegne,[2] and of Denmarche, some for love, and some for wages; so that whan they were all togyder, they were a lx. M. men a fote; and on hackenayes a iii. M. armed after their maner. Whane they were all redy, they removed to go into Englande, to do ther as moche hurt as they might, (for the truse was as than expyred,) or els to fight with the kynge of Englande, who had caused them to suffre moch dysease. The Scottes departed fro saynt Johannes towne, and went to Donfremelyn, and the next day, ther they passed a lytell arme of the see. Than they went with great dyligence and passed by Edenborowe, and after by Rousburge, the whiche was as than Englysshe, but they made none assaut ther bycause they wolde have none of their company hurt, nor to wast none of their artillary: they thought to do a greatter dede, or they retourned into Scotlande. And so after, they passed nat ferre of fro Berwyke and went by without any assaut gyveng, and so entred into the contrey of Northumberlande, and came to the ryver of Tyne, brennyng all the contrey rounde about them, and at last came to Newecastell upon Tyne; and ther he lay and all his people, about the towne that night: and in the morning, a certayne nombre of gentylmen that were in the towne, yssued out, to the nombre of CC. speres, to make a skry in the Scottysshe hoost; they dasshed into the Scottyssh host right on therle of Morets[3] tentes, who bare in his armour, sylver, thre oreylles goules: ther they toke hym in his bed, and slewe many, or thoost was moved, and wan great pyllage; than they returned into the towne boldely, with great joye, and delyverd therle Moret, as prisoner, to the captayne of the castell, the lorde John Nevell. Whan the Scottes were up, they armed them, and ran lyke madde men

[1] *Sweden.*

[2] *Norway.*

[3] *Moray.*

to the barryers of the towne, and made a great assaut, the whiche endured longe, but lytell it avayled them, and they lost ther many men; for ther were many good men of warr within, who defended themself so wysely, that the Scottes were fayne at last to withdrawe abacke to their losse.

CAP. LXXIIII

Howe kyng Davyd came to Newcastell upon Tyne.

CAP. LXXV

Howe kyng Davyd of Scotlande distroyed the cytie of Dyrrame.[1]

[1] *Durham.*

WHAN that king Davyd and his counsayle sawe that his taryeng about Newcastell was daungerous, and that he coude wynne therby nother profet nor honour, than he departed, and entred into the contrey of the bysshoprike of Dyrram, and ther brent and wasted all byfore them, and so came to the cyte of Dyrram, and layed siege rounde about it, and made many great assautes lyke madde men, bycause they had lost therle of Morette; and they knewe well that ther was moche richesse in the cytie, for all the contrey ther about was fledde thyder: the Scottes made ingens and instrumentes to come to the walles, to make the feercer assaut. And whan the Scottes were gone fro Newcastell, thane sir John Nevyll captayne there, mounted on a good horse, and toke a way farre of fro the Scottes, and dyd so moche, that within fyve dayes he came to Chyrtsay, wher as kyng Edwarde lay as than: ther he shewed the king tidynges of the Scottes. Than the kynge sende forth messangers into every part, commaundyng every man, bytwene the age of lx. and xv. all excuses layd a part, to drawe northwarde, and to mete hym in that contrey to ayde and defende his contrey, that the Scottes distroyed: than lordes, knyghtes, squyers, and all other, drewe towarde the northe. The kyng departed hymself hastely, and taryed for no man, and every man folowed as well as they might. In the meane season, the Scottes assauted the cytie of Dyrrame, with ingens and other instrumentes, so feersly that they within coude nat defende themself, but that the cytie was wonne byforce, and robbed, and clene brent, and all maner of people put to deth with-

CAP. LXXV

How kyng Davyd distroyed the cytie of Dyrrame.

out mercy, men, women, and chyldren, monkes, prestes, and chanons, so that ther abode alyve no maner a person, house nor church, but it was distroyed; the whiche was great pytie so to dystroy christen blode, and the churches of Godde, wherin that God was honoured and served.

CAP. LXXVI

Howe the Scottes besieged a castell of therle of Salysburies.

THAN king Davyd was counselled to drawe abacke along by the ryver of Tyne, and to drawe toward Carlyle; and as he went thyderward, he loged that nyght besyde a castel[1] of therle of Salysburies, the whiche was well kept with men a warr; captayne therof was sir Wyllyam Montagu, son to therle of Salysburis suster. The next day the Scottes dysloged to go towarde Carlyle, they had moch caryage with them, of such pyllage as they had won at Dyram. Whan syr Wyllyam Montagu sawe how the Scottes passed by without restyng, than he with xl. with him yssued out a horsbacke, and folowed covertly the hynder trayne of the Scottes, who had horses so charged with baggage, that they might scant go any gret pace. And he overtoke them at thentryng into a wood, and set on them, and ther slewe and hurt of the Scottes mo than CC. and toke mo than sixscore horses charged with pyllage, and so led them toward the castell. The cry and brunt of the flight came to the heryng of syr Wyllyam Duglas, who had the charge of the reregarde, and as than he was past the wood. Whan he sawe the Scottes came fleyng over the dales and mountayns he had great marvell, and than he and all his company ran forth, and rested nat tyll they came to the fote of the castell, and mounted the hyll in hast; but or he came to the bayls, thenglysshmen were entred, and had closed the barryers, and put their pray in saftie. Than the Scottes began to assayle feersly, and they within defended them; ther these two Wyllyams dyd what they might, eche to greve other: this assaut endured so long, that all thoost came thyder, kyng and all. Whan the kyng and his coun-

[1] *Werk Castle.*

sell sawe how his men were slayne, lyeng in the felde, and the assaylantes sore hurt, without wynning of any thyng, than he commaunded to cease thassaut, and to lodge; than every man began to seke for his logyng, and to gader togyder the deed men, and to dresse theym that were hurt. The next day the kyng of Scottes commaunded that every man shulde be redy to assayle, and they within were redy to defende: ther was a sore assaut, and a perylous: ther might a ben sene many noble dedes on both partes. Ther was within present the noble countesse of Salysbury, who was as than reputed for the most sagest and fayrest lady of all England: the castell parteyned to her husbande therle of Salisbury, who was taken prisoner, with the erle of Suffolke, before Lyle in Flanders, as ye have harde before, and was in prison as than in the chatelot[1] of Parys. The kyng of Englande gave the same castell to the sayd erle, whan he maryed first the sayd lady, for the prowes and gode servyce that he had done before, whan he was called but sir Wyllyam Montagu; this noble lady conforted them greatly within, for by the regarde of such a lady, and by her swete conforting, a man ought to be worthe two men at nede. This assaut dured long, and the Scottes lost many of their men, for they adventured themselfe hardely, and caryed wood and tymbre, to have fylled the dykes, to thyntent to bring their engyns to the walles, but they within defended themselfe so valyantly, that the assaylantes were fayne to drawe abacke.

[1] *Châtelet.*

CAP. LXXVI

Howe the Scottes besieged a castell of therle of Salysburies.

Than the kyng commaunded the ingens to be wel kept that night, and the next day to enforce the assaut; than every man drue to their lodgyng, except those that kept thyngens. Some wept the deth of their frendes, other conforted them that were hurt: they of the castell sawe well, if kynge Davyd contynued his sege, how they shuld have moche ado to defende them and their castell; wherfore they toke counsell amonge them, to sende to kyng Edward, who lay at Yorke, as it was shewed them, by suche prisoners as they had taken of the Scottes. Than they loked among them who shulde do the message, but they coude fynde none that wolde leave the castell, and the presence of the fayre lady to do that dede. So ther was among them great stryfe.

CAP. LXXVI Than whan the captayne sir Wyllyam Montagu sawe that, he sayd, Sirs, I se well the trueth and good wyll that ye bere to my lady of this house, so that for the love of her, and for you all, I shall put my body in adventur to do this message, for I have suche trust in you, that ye shall right well defende this castell tyll I retourne agayne: and on thother syde, I have suche trust in the king, our soverayne lorde, that I shall shortly bring you suche socours, that shall cause you to be joyfull, and than I trust the kyng shall so rewarde you, that ye shal be content: of these wordes the countesse and all other wer right joyefull And whan the night came the sayd sir Wyllyam made hym redy, as prively as he might, and it happed so well for hym, that it rayned all night, so that the Scottes kept styll within their lodgynges. Thus at mydnight, sir Wyllyam Montagu passed through thoost, and was nat sene, and so rode forth tyll it was day; than he met ii. Scottes, halfe a leage fro thost, drivyng before them two oxen and a cowe towarde thoost. Syr Wyllyam knewe well they wer Scottes and set on them, and wounded them bothe, and slewe the catell, to thyntent that they of thost shuld have none ease by them; than he sayd to the two hurt Scottes, Go your wayes, and say to your kyng, that Wyllyam of Montague hath thus passed through his hoost, and is goyng to fetch ayde of the kyng of Englande, and so departed. Than the same mornynge, the kyng of Scottes made a feerse assaut, but nothing coude he wyn, and every day lightly they made assaut: than his counsell sawe how he dyd but lese his men, and that the kyng of England might well come thyder, or the castell were won. Thane they by one acorde counselled their kyng to depart, sayeng, how the abyding ther, was nat for his profet, nor yet for his honour; and sayd, Sir, ye have honourably achyved your enterprise, and have done great dispyte to the Englysshmen, in that ye have ben in this contre a xii. dayes, and taken and distroyed the cytie of Dyrrame; wherfore, sir, all thynges consydred, it were good nowe that ye retourned, and take with you your pyllage that ye have wonne, and another tyme ye may returne agayne whan it pleaseth you. The kyng, who wolde nat do agaynst the opynyons of all his counsell, agreed to them,

Howe the Scottes besieged a castell of therle of Salysburies.

sore agaynst his mynde: howbeit, the next mornyng he dysloged, and all his host, and toke the way streyght to the great forest of Gedeours,[1] there to tary at their ease, and to knowe what the kyng of Englande wolde do farther, other to goo backe agayne, or els to entre into Scotlande.

CAP. LXXVI Howe the Scottes besieged a castell of therle of Salysburies.

[1] *Jedworth.*

CAP. LXXVII

Howe the kyng of Englande was in amours with the countesse of Salisbury.

THE same day that the Scottes departed fro the sayd castell, kyng Edward came thyder, with all his host, about noon, and came to the same place wher as the Scottes had loged, and was sore displeased that he founde nat the Scottes ther, for he came thyder in such hast that his horse and men wer sore traveled. Than he commaunded to lodge ther that nyght, and sayd, howe he wolde go se the castell, and the noble lady therin, for he had nat sene her sythe she was maryed before: than every man toke his logyng as he lyst. And assone as the kyng was unarmed, he toke a x. or xii. knyghtes with hym, and went to the castell to salute the countesse of Salisbury, and to se the maner of the assautes of the Scottes, and the defence that was made agaynst them. Assone as the lady knewe of the kynges commyng, she set opyn the gates, and came out so richely be sene, that every man marveyled of her beauty, and coude nat cease to regarde her noblenes with her great beauty, and the gracyous wordes and countenaunce that she made. Whan she came to the kyng, she knelyd downe to the yerth, thankyng hym of his socours, and so ledde hym into the castell, to make hym chere and honour, as she that coude ryght well do it: every man regarded her marvelusly; the king hymselfe coude nat witholde his regardyng of her, for he thought that he never sawe before, so noble, nor so fayre a lady: he was stryken therewith to the hert, with a sparcle of fyne love, that endured longe after; he thought no lady in the worlde so worthy to be beloved as she. Thus they entred into the castell, hande in hande; the lady ledde hym first into the hall, and after into the chambre, nobly

CAP. LXXVII

Howe the kyng of Englande was in amours with the countesse of Salisbury.

aparelled; the kyng regarded so the lady that she was abasshed. At last he went to a wyndo to rest hym and so fell in a gret study: the lady went about to make chere to the lordes and knyghtes that were ther, and commaunded to dresse the hall for dyner. Whan she had al devysed and commaunded, thane she came to the kyng with a mery chere, who was in a gret study, and she sayd Dere syr, why do ye study so? for, your grace nat dyspleased, it aparteyneth nat to you so to do: rather ye shulde make good chere and be joyfull, seyng ye have chased away your enmies, who durst nat abyde you: let other men study for the remynant. Than the kyng sayd, A, dere lady, knowe for trouthe, that syth I entred into the castell, ther is a study come to my mynde, so that I can nat chuse but to muse, nor I can nat tell what shall fall therof; put it out of my herte I can nat. A sir, quoth the lady, ye ought alwayes to make good chere, to confort therwith your peple: God hath ayded you so in your besynes, and hath gyven you so great graces, that ye be the moste douted and honoured prince in all christendome, and if the kyng of Scottes have done you any dyspyte or damage, ye may well amende it whan it shall please you, as ye have done dyverse tymes or this; sir, leave your musyng and come into the hall, if it please you, your dyner is all redy. A, fayre lady, quoth the kyng: other thynges lyeth at my hert that ye knowe nat of: but surely the swete behavyng, the perfyt wysedom, the good grace, noblenes, and exellent beauty that I se in you, hath so sore surprised my hert, that I can nat but love you, and without your love I am but deed. Than the lady sayde, A, ryght noble prince, for Goddes sake mocke nor tempt me nat: I can nat byleve that it is true that ye say, nor that so noble a prince as ye be, wold thynke to dyshonour me and my lorde, my husbande, who is so valyant a knight, and hath done your grace so gode servyce, and as yet lyethe in prison for your quarell; certenly sir, ye shulde in this case have but a small prayse, and nothyng the better therby: I had never as yet such a thought in my hert, nor I trust in God never shall have, for no man lyveng; if I had any suche intencyon, your grace ought nat all onely to blame me, but also to punysshe my body, ye and by true justice to be dismembred.

CAP. LXXVII

Howe the kyng of Englande was in amours with the countesse of Salisbury.

Therwith the lady departed fro the kyng, and went into the hall to hast the dyner; than she returned agayne to the kyng and broght some of his knyghtes with her, and sayd, Sir, yf it please you to come into the hall, your knightes abideth for you to wasshe, ye have ben to long fastyng. Than the kyng went into the hall and wassht, and sat down amonge his lordes, and the lady also; the kyng ete but lytell, he sat styll musyng, and as he durst, he cast his eyen upon the lady: of his sadnesse his knyghtes had marvell, for he was nat acustomed so to be; some thought it was bycause the Scottes were scaped fro hym. All that day the kyng taryed ther, and wyst nat what to do: somtyme he ymagined that honour and trouth defended him to set his hert in such a case, to dyshonour such a lady, and so true a knyght as her husband was, who had alwayes well and truely served hym. On thother part, love so constrayned hym, that the power therof surmounted honour and trouth: thus the kyng debated in hymself all that day, and all that night; in the mornyng he arose and dysloged all his hoost, and drewe after the Scottes, to chase them out of his realme. Than he toke leave of the lady, sayeng, My dere lady, to God I commende you tyll I returne agayne, requiryng you to advyse you otherwyse than ye have sayd to me. Noble prince, quoth the lady, God the father glorious be your conduct, and put you out of all vylayne thoughtes; sir, I am, and ever shal be redy to do your grace servyce to your honour and to myne. Therwith the kyng departed all abasshed; and soo folowed the Scottes tyll he came to the cyte of Berwyke, and went and lodged within iiii. leages of the forest of Gedeors, wher as kyng Davyd and all his company were entred, in trust of the great wyldernesse. The kyng of England taryed ther a iii. dayes, to se if the Scottes wold yssue out to fight with hym; in these thre dayes ther were dyvers skirmysshes on bothe parties, and dyvers slayne, taken, and sore hurte amonge the Scottes. Sir Wyllyam Duglas was he that dyd moost trouble to thenglysshemen; he bare azure, a comble sylver, thre starres goules.

CAP. LXXVIII

Howe therle of Salysbury and therle Moret were delyverd out of prison by exchaunge.

IN these sayd thre dayes ther were noble men on bothe parties that treatid for a peace to be had bytwene these two kynges; and their treatie toke suche effect, that a trewse was agreed to endure two yere, so that the Frenche kynge wolde therto agree; for the kyng of Scottes was so sore alyed to the Frenche kyng, that he might take no peace without his consent; and if so be the Frenche kyng wold nat agree to the peace, than the truse to endure to the first day of May folowyng. And it was agreed that therle of Morette shulde be quyte for his prisonment, if the kyng of Scottes coude do so moche to purchase with the Frenche kyng, that therle of Salisbury might in lyke maner be quyte out of prison, the whiche thyng shulde be done before the feest of saynt John of Baptyst next after. The kyng of Englande agreed the soner to this truse, bycause he had warre in France, in Gascoyne, in Poyctou, in Xaynton, in Bretaygne: and in every place he had men of warre at his wages. Than the kyng of Scottes sent great messangers to the French kyng, to agre to this truse; the Frenche kyng was content, seyng it was the desyre of the kyng of Scottes: than therle of Salisbury was sent into Englande, and the kyng of England sent incontynent therle Moret into Scotland.

CAP. LXXIX

Howe sir Charles du Bloys with dyvers lordes of Fraunce toke the cytie of Renes in Bretayne.

IT is to be knowen that whan the duke of Normandy, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Alanson, the duke of Burbon, therle of Bloys, the constable of Fraunce, therle of Guynes his sonne, sir James de Burbone, sir Loyes of Spaygne, with other lordes and knyghtes of Fraunce, whan they were departed out of Bretayne, and had conquered

CAP. LXXIX

Howe sir Charles du Bloys with dyvers lordes of Fraunce toke the cytie of Renes in Bretayne.

the stronge castell of Chastoneaux, and the cyte of Nantes, and taken therle of Mountfort and delyverd hym to the Frenche kyng, who had put hym in prison in the castell of Loure[1] in Parys; and syr Charles of Bloys beyng in Nantes, and the contrey obeyed to hym rounde about, abydinge the somer season, to make better warr than in wynter. Whan the swete season of somer approched, the lordes of Fraunce and dyvers other, drue towarde Bretayne with a great hoost to ayde sir Charles de Blois, to recover the resydue of the duchy of Bretayne: they founde syr Charles of Bloys in Nantes; than they determyned to lay sege to Renes; the countesse of Mountfort had well prevented the mater, and had set ther for captayne sir Wyllyam of Cadudall Breton; the lordes of France came thyder, and dyd moche trouble with assautes: howbeit, they within defended themselfe so valiantly, that their ennemyes loste more than they wanne. Whan the countesse of Mountfort knewe that the lordes of Fraunce were come into Bretaygne with suche a puyssance, she sende sir Amery of Clysson into Englande, desyring socourse of the kyng, on the condycion that therle of Mountfortes son and heyre, shuld take to wyf one of the kynges doughters, and shulde be called duches of Bretayne. The king of England was as than at London makyng chere to therle of Salisbury, who was newe come out of prison. Whan this sir Amery of Clysson was come to the kyng, and had made relacyon of his message, the kyng graunted his request, and commaunded sir Water of Manny, to take with hym as many men of warr as sir Amery desyred, and shortly to make them redy to go into Bretayne, to ayde the countesse of Mountfort, and to take with him a iii. M. archers of the best. Thus sir Water and sir Amery toke the see, and with them went the two bretherne of Lynedall,[2] sir Loys, and sir John, the Haz of Brabant, sir Hubert of Fresnoy, sir Aleyn Syrefound, and dyvers other and a vi. M. archers; but a great tempest toke them on the see, and a contrary wynde, wherfore they abode on the see xl. dayes. All this season the lordes of France, with sir Charles de Bloys, kepte styll the sege before Renes, and sore constrayned them within, so that the burgesses of the towne wold gladly have taken apoyntment, but their captayne,

[1] *The Louvre.*

[2] *Levedale.*

CAP. LXXIX

Howe sir Charles du Bloys with dyvers lordes of Fraunce toke the cytie of Renes in Bretayne.

sir Wyllyam of Cadudall wold in no wyse agree therto. Whan the burgesses and the commons of the towne had endured moche payne and sawe no socours commyng fro no partie, they wold have yelded up the towne: but the captayne wolde nat. Whan they sawe that, finally they toke hym and put hym in prison and made covenaunt with sir Charles du Bloys to yelde up the towne the next day, on the condycion that all such as were of the countes part myght go their wayes whyther they lyst without danger or trouble; the lord Charles de Bloys dyd graunt their desyre. Than the cytie of Renes was gyven up, the yere of our lord M. iii. C. xlii. in the begynning of May. Sir Wyllyam of Quadudall wolde nat tary ther, but went streyght to Hanybont, to the countesse of Mountfort, who as than had hard no tidynges of sir Amery of Clysson, nor of his company.

CAP. LXXX

Howe sir Charles du Bloys besieged the countesse of Mountfort in Hanybont.

WHAN the cytie of Renes was gyven up, the burgesses made their homage and fealtie to the lord Charles of Bloys. Than he was counselled to go and lay siege to Hanybonte, wher as the countesse was, sayeng, that therle beyng in prison, yf they myght gette the countesse and her sonne, it shulde make an ende of all the warre: than they went all to Hanybont, and layed siege therto, and to the castell also, as ferr as they might by lande. With the countesse in Hanybont, ther was the bysshop of Leon in Bretayne, also ther was sir Yves of Tribiquedy, the lorde of Landreman, sir Wyllyam of Quadudall, and the Chatelayne of Guyngnape,[1] the two bretherne of Quyreth,[2] sir Henry and sir Olyver of Pennefort, and dyvers other. Whan the countesse and her company understode that the Frenchmen were comyng to lay siege to the towne of Hanybont, than it was commaunded to sounde the watche bell alarm, and every man to be armed and drawe to their defence. Whan sir Charles and the Frenchmen came nere to the towne, they commaunded to lodge ther

[1] *Guingamp.*
[2] *Quirich.*

CAP. LXXX

Howe sir Charles du Bloys besieged the countesse of Mountfort in Hanybont.

that nyght. Some of the yong lusty companyons came skirmysshyng to the barrers, and some of them within yssued out to theym, so that ther was a great affray; but the Genowayes and Frenchmen loste more than they wanne: whan night came on, every man drewe to their lodgynge. The next day the lordes toke counsayle to assayle the barrers, to se the maner of them within: and so the thyrde day they made a great assaute to the barrers, fro mornyng tyll it was noone: than the assaylantes drewe abacke sore beaten, and dyvers slayne. Whan the lordes of Fraunce sawe their men drawe abacke, they were sore dyspleased, and caused the assaut to begynne agayne, more ferser than it was before, and they within defended themselfe valyantly. The countesse herselfe ware harnesse on her body and rode on a great courser fro strete to strete, desyringe her peple to make good defence: and she caused damoselles, and other women, to cutte shorte their kyrtels, and to cary stones and pottes full of chalk to the walles, to be cast downe to their ennemyes. This lady dyd ther an hardy enterprise; she mounted up to the heyght of a towre, to se how the Frenchmen were orderd without; she sawe howe that all the lordes, and all other people of thoost, were all gone out of ther felde to thassaut; than she toke agayne her courser, armed as she was, and caused thre hundred men a horsbacke to be redy, and she went with theym to another gate, wher as there was non assaut. She yssued out and her company, and dasshed into the Frenche lodgynges, and cutte downe tentes, and set fyre in their lodgynges: she founde no defence ther, but a certayne of varlettes and boyes, who ran away. Whan the lordes of France loked behynde them, and sawe their lodgynges a fyre, and harde the cry and noyse ther, they retourned to the felde, cryeng, Treason, treason, so that all thassaut was left. Whan the countesse sawe that, she drewe togyder her company, and whan she sawe she coud nat entre agayne into the towne without great damage, she toke another way and went to the castell of Brest, the whiche was nat ferr thens. Whan sir Loys of Spayne, who was marshal of the host, was come to the felde, and sawe their lodgynges brennyng, and sawe the countesse and her company goynge away, he folowed after

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Howe sir Charles du Bloys besieged the countesse of Mountfort in Hanybont.

her with a great nombre: he chased her so nere, that he slewe and hurte dyverse of theym that were behynde, yvell horsed; but the countesse and the moost parte of her company rode so well, that they came to Breste, and there they were receyved with great joye. The next day the lordes of Fraunce, who hadde lost their tentes and their provisyons, thanne tooke counsayle to lodge in bowers of trees, more nerer to the towne; and they had great marveyle whan they knewe that the countesse herselfe had done that enterprise. They of the towne wyst nat wher the countesse was become, wherof they were in great trouble, for it was fyve dayes or they harde any tidynges. The countesse dyd so moche at Brest, that she gate togyder a v. hundred speres, and than about mydnight she departed fro Brest, and by the sonne rysing, she came along by the one syde of the hoost, and came to one of the gates of Hanybont, the which was opyned for her, and therin she entred and all her company, with gret noyse of trumpettes and canayrs; wherof the Frenche hoost had great marveyle, and armed them and ran to the towne to assaut it, and they within redy to defende. Ther began a feerse assaut and endured tyll noone, but the Frenchmen lost more than they within. At noone thassaut ceased: than they toke counsell that sir Charles du Bloys shulde go fro that sege, and gyve assaut to the castell of Alroy,[1] the which kyng Arthure made; and with hym shulde go the duke of Burbone, therle of Bloys, the marshall of France, sir Robert Bertrande: and that sir Henry de Leon, and part of the Genevoys, and the lorde Loys of Spayne, and the vycont of Rohayne, with all the Spanyerdes, shulde abyde styll before Hanybont; for they sawe well they coulde have no profet to assayle Hanybont any more; but they sent for xii. great engyns to Renes, to thyntent to cast into the towne and castell day and night. So they devyded their host: the one styll before Hanybont, the other with sir Charles of Bloys before Aulroy. They within Alroy were well fortifyed and were a two C. companyons, able for to mayntayne the warre; and sir Henry of Penfort, and sir Olyver his brother, were chyefe capitaynes ther. A foure leages fro that castell was the good towne of Vannes, parteyning to the countesse, and capitayne ther was sir

[1] *Auray.*

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Geffray of Malatrayt. Nat farre thens also was the good towne of Guyngnape, the cathelayne of Dynant was captayne ther; he was at Hanybont with the countesse, and had lefte in the towne of Dynant his wyfe and his chyldren, and had lefte ther capytayne in his stede Raynolde his son. Bytwene these two townes stode a stronge castell, parteynyng to sir Charles du Bloys, and was well kept with soudyours, Burgonyons: captayne ther was sir Gerarde of Maulayne, and with hym another knyght, called Pyer Portbeufe. They wasted all the contrey about them and constrayned sore the sayd two townes, for ther coude nother marchandyse nor provisyon entre into any of them but in great danger. On a day they wolde ryde towarde Vannes, and another day towarde Guyngnape; and on a day, sir Raynolde of Dynant layed a busshment, and the same day sir Gerarde of Maulayne rode forthe and had taken a xv. marchantes, and all their goodes, and was drivyng of them towardes their castell, called Rochprion, and so fell in the busshment. And ther sir Raynolde of Dynant toke sir Gerarde prisoner and a xxv. of his company, and rescued the marchantes and ledde forthe their prisoners to Dynant, wherof sir Raynolde was moche praysed and well worthy.

Nowe let us speke of the countesse of Mountfort, who was besieged in Hanybont, by sir Loys of Spayne, who kept the siege ther, and he had so broken and brused the walles of the towne with his engins, so that they within began to be abasshed. And on a day the bysshop of Leon spake with sir Henry of Leon his nephue, by whom, as it was sayd, that therle Mountfort was taken. So longe they spake togyder, that they agreed that the bysshop shulde do what he coude to cause the company within to agre to yelde up the town and castell to sir Charles de Bloys, and sir Henry de Leon, on thother syde, shuld purchase pece for them all of sir Charles de Bloyes, and to lese nothyng of their goodes. Thus the bysshop entred agayne into the towne; the countes incontynent douted of some yvell purchase. Than she desyred the lordes and knightes that were ther, that for the love of God they shulde be in no dout; for she sayd she was in suretie that they shuld have

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socours within thre dayes. Howbeit, the bysshope spake so moch and shewed so many reasons to the lordes, that they were in a great trouble all that night. The next mornyng they drewe to counsell agayne, so that they wer nere of acorde to have gyven up the towne, and sir Henry was come nere to the towne, to have taken possession therof. Than the countesse loked downe along the see, out at a wyndo in the castell, and began to smyle for great joy that she had, to se the socours commyng, the which she had so long desyred. Than she cryed out aloude, and sayd twyse, I se the socours of Englande commyng. Than they of the towne ran to the walles, and sawe a great nombre of shyppes, great and small, fresshly decked, commyng towarde Hanybont: they thought well it was the socours of Englande, who had ben on the see lx. dayes, by reason of contrary wyndes.

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Howe sir Water of Manny brought thenglysshmen into Bretayne.

[1] *Guingamp.*
[2] *Ives de Tresequidy.*

WHAN the seneshall of Guyngnape,[1] sir Perse of Tribyquedy,[2] sir Galeran of Landreman, and the other knyghtes, sawe these socours commyng, than they sayd to the bysshoppe, Sir, ye may well leave your treaty: for they sayd they were nat content as than to folowe his counsayle. Than the bysshoppe sayd, Sirs, than our company shall depart, for I wyll go to hym that hath moost right as me semeth; than he departed fro Hanibont, and defyed the countesse and all her ayders, and so went to sir Henry de Leon, and shewed hym howe the mater went. Than sir Henry was sore dyspleased, and caused incontynent to rere up the grettest ingens that they had nere to the castell, and commaunded that they shuld nat sease to cast day and night: than he departed thens and brought the bysshoppe to sir Loys of Spayne, who receyved hym with great joye, and so dyd sir Charles of Bloys. Than the countesse dressed up halles and chambers, to lodge the lordes of Englande that were commyng, and dyd sende

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agaynst them right nobly. And whan they wer alande, she came to them with great reverence, and feested them the beest she might, and thanked them right humbly, and caused all the knyghtes and other to lodge at their ease in the castell, and in the towne: and the nexte day she made them a great feest at dyner. All night and the nexte day also, the ingens never ceased to cast: and after dyner sir Gaultier of Manny, who was chefe of that company, demaunded of the state of the towne, and of the hoost without, and sayd, I have a great desyre to yssue out, and to breke downe this great ingen that standeth so nere us, if any woll folowe me. Than sir Perse of Tribyquidy sayde, howe he wolde nat fayle hym at this his first begynning, and so sayd the lorde of Landreman. Than they armed them, and so they yssued out prively at a certayne gate, and with them a iii. hundred archers, who shotte so holly togyder, that they that kept the ingen fledde away; and the men of armes came after the archers, and slewe dyverse of them that fledde, and bete down the great engyn, and brake it all to peaces. Thane they ranne in amonge the tentes and logynges, and set fyre in dyverse places, and slewe and hurt dyvers, tyll the hoost began to styre; than they withdrue fayre and easely, and they of the hoost ranne after them lyke madde men. Than sir Gaultier sayd, Let me never be beloved with my lady, without I have a course with one of these folowers; and therwith tourned his spere in the rest, and in likewyse so dyd the two bretherne of Lendall, and the Haz of Brabant, sir Yves of Tribyquedy, sir Galeran of Landreman, and dyverse other companyons. They ran at the first comers: ther myght well a ben legges sene tourned upwarde; ther began a sore medlynge, for they of the hoost alwayes encreased, wherfore it behoved thenglysshmen to withdrawe towarde ther fortresse; ther might well a ben sene on bothe parties many noble dedes, takyng and rescuyng. The Englysshmen drewe sagely to the dykes and ther made a stall, tyll all their men wer in savegard: and all the resydue of the towne yssued out to rescue their company, and caused them of the hoost to recule backe: so whan they of the host sawe how they coude do no good, they drewe to their lodgynges, and they of the fortresse in likewyse to

CAP. LXXXI their lodgynges. Than the countesse discendyd downe fro the castell with a gladde chere, and came and kyst sir Gaultier of Manny, and his companyons one after another, two or thre tymes, lyke a valyant lady.

Howe sir Water of Manny brought thenglysshmen into Bretayne.

CAP. LXXXII

Howe the castell of Conquest was wonne two tymes.

THE next day sir Loys of Spayne called to counsell the vycont of Rohayne, the bysshoppe of Leon, the lorde Henry of Leon, and the master of the Genevoys, to know ther advyse what was best to do; they sawe well the towne of Hanybont was marveylously strong, and greatly socoured by meanes of tharchers of Englande: they thought their tyme but lost to abyde there, for they coude nat se howe to wynne any thynge ther; than they all agreed to dyslodge the nexte day, and to go to the castell of Alroy,[1] where sir Charles of Bloys lay at siege. The next day betymes they pulled downe their lodgynges, and drewe thyder, as they were purposed; and they of the towne made great cryeng and showtyng after them, and some yssued out to adventure themselfe, but they were sone put abacke agayne, and lost some of their company, or they coude entre agayne into the towne. Whan sir Loys of Spayne came to sir Charles of Bloys, he shewed hym the reason why he left the sege before Hanybont. Than it was ordayned that sir Loys of Spayne, and his company, shulde go and ley siege to Dynant, the which was nat closed, but with pales, water, and maresse; and as sir Loyes went towarde Dynant, he came by a castell called Conquest: and captayne ther for the countesse was a knyght of Normandy, called sir Mencon, and with hym dyvers soudyers. Sir Loys came thyder and gave a great assaut, and they within defended them so well, that thassaut endured tyll mydnight, and in the morning it began agayn; thassaylantes persed so nere that they came to the wall and made a great hole through, for the dykes were of no depnesse, and so byforce they entred, and slewe all them within the castell, except the knyght whome they

[1] *Auray.*

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Howe the castell of Conquest was wonne two tymes.

toke prisoner, and stablysshed ther a newe Chatelayne, and a lx. soudyers with hym: than sir Loys departed, and went and layed seige to Dynaunt. The countesse of Mountfort had knowledge howe sir Loyes of Spayne was assautyng of the castell of Conquest: than she sayd to sir Water of Manny and his company, that if they might rescue that castell, they shuld achyve great honour. They all agreed therto and departed the next morning fro Hanybont, so that ther abode but fewe behynde in the towne; they rode so fast, that about noone they came to the castell of Conquest, wherin was as than the Frenche garyson for they had won it the day before. Whan sir Water of Manny sawe that, and howe that sir Loyes of Spayne was gone, he was sory bycause he might nat fight with hym, and sayd to his company, Sirs, I wyll nat departe hens, tyll I se what company is yander within the castell, and to knowe howe it was wonne. Than he and all his made them redy to the assaut, and the Frenchmen and Spanyardes sawe that, they defended theymselfe as well as they might; the archers helde them so short, that thenglysshmen aproched to the walles, and they found the hole in the wall, wherby the castell was won before, and by the same place they entred, and slew all within, excepte x. that were taken to mercy; than thenglysshmen and Bretons drue agayne to Hanybont, they wolde set no garyson in Conquest, for they sawe well it was nat to be holden.

CAP. LXXXIII

Howe sir Loyes of Spayne toke the towne of Dynant and of Gerande.

NOWE let us retourne to sir Loys of Spayne, who besieged the towne of Dynant in Bretayne, and than he caused to be made lytell vessels to make assautes, bothe by water and by lande: and whan the burgesses of the towne sawe howe they were in danger to lese their lyves and goodes, they yelded themself agayne the wyll of their capten, sir Raynalt Guyngnap, whom they slewe in the myddes of the market place, bycause he wolde nat consent to them. And whan sir Loyes of Spayne

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Howe sir Loyes of Spayne toke the towne of Dynant and of Gerande.

had ben ther two dayes, and taken fealtie of the burgesses and set ther a newe capyten, a squyer called Gerard of Maulyne, whom they founde ther as prisoner, and the lorde Pyers Portbeufe with hym, than they went to a great towne on the see syde, called Gerand; they layd siege therto, and founde therby many vessels and shyppes laded with wyne, that marchantes had brought thyder fro Poyctou and Rochell, to sell: the marchantes anon had solde their wynes, but they were but yvell payed. Than sir Loys caused some of the Spanyardes and Genevoys to entre into these shyppes, and the next day they assayled the towne bothe by lande and by water, so that they within coude nat defend themselfe, but that they were lightly wonne by force, and the towne robbed, and all the people put to the swerde without mercy, men, women, and chyldren: and fyve churches brent and vyolated. Wherof sir Loys was sore dyspleased, and caused xxiiii. of them that dyd the dede, to be hanged for their labours; ther was moche treasoure won, so that every man had more than he coude bere away, for it was a riche towne of marchandyse. Whan this towne was won, they wyst nat whyder to go farther; than sir Loys of Spayn, and with hym sir Othes Dorne,[1] and certayne Genowayes and Spanyardes entred into the shyppes to adventure along by the see syde, to se yf they might wynne any thyng ther. And the vycont of Rohayne, the bysshoppe of Leon, sir Henry of Leon his nephue, and all the other retourned to thoost, to sir Charles of Bloys who lay styll before the castell of Aulroy; and ther they founde many knyghtes and lordes of Fraunce, who were newely come thyder, as sir Loyes of Poycters, therle of Valence, therle of Aucerre, therle of Porcyen, therle of Joigny, the erle of Bolayne,[2] and dyverse other that kyng Philyp had sent thyder, and some that came of their owne good wylles, to serve sir Charles of Bloys. As than the strong castell of Alroy was nat wonne, but ther was suche famyn within, that vii. dayes before they had eten all their horses. And the lorde Charles de Bloys wolde nat take them to mercy, without he might have them simpley to do his pleasur; and whan they within sawe no other remedy, secretely in the night they yssued out, and by the wyll of God went through thoost on the one syde: yet

[1] *Doria.*

[2] *Boulogne.*

some were parceyved and slayne, but sir Henry of Pennefort, and sir Olyver his brother, scaped by a lytle wood that was therby, and went streyght to Hanybont to the countesse. So thus wan sir Charles of Bloyes the castell of Alroy, whan he had layne at siege x. wekes; than he newly fortifyed the place, and set therin newe captayns and men of warr. Than he departed and went and layed siege to Vannes, wherin sir Geffray of Maletrayt was captayne; the next day certayne soudyers of the countesses of Mountfort, beyng in the towne of Ployremell,[1] yssued out on the hope somwhat to wynne, and came sodenly in the mornyng into the host of sir Charles de Bloys. But they adventured themselfe so farr that they were closed in, and lost many of their folkes, and thother fledde away and were chased to the gates of Ployremell, the whiche was nat ferr of fro Vannes: and whan they of the hoost were retourned fro the chase, incontynent they made assaut to Vannes, and byforce wanne they bayles; harde to the gate of the cyte ther was a sore skirmysshe, and many hurt and slayne on bothe parties, the assaut endured tyll it was night: than ther was a truse taken to endure all the next day. The burgesses the next day yelded up the towne, whyther the captayne wolde or nat, who whan he sawe it wold be none otherwyse, departed out of the towne as secretly as he coude, and went to Hanybont: so sir Charles of Bloys, and the Frenchmen entred into Vannes, and taryed ther fyve dayes; than they went and layd siege to another cytie called Traiz.[2]

CAP. LXXXIII

Howe sir Loyes of Spayne toke the towne of Dynant and of Gerande.

[1] *Ploërmel.*

[2] *Carhaix.*

CAP. LXXXIIII

Howe sir Water of Manny dysconfited sir Loyes of Spayne in the felde of Camperle.[3]

[3] *Quimperle.*

NOW let us returne to sir Loyes of Spayne, who whan he was at the porte of Guerand by the see syde, he and his company sayled forth tyll they came into Bretayn bretonaunt,[4] to a port called Camperle, right nere to Quypercorentyn[5] and to saynt Mathue of Fyne Portern;[6] than they yssued out of the shyppes and landed, and brent all the countrey about, and gate moche rychesse,

[4] *Lower Brittany.*

[5] *Quimper-Corentin.*

[6] *St. Mahè de Fine-Terre.*

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Howe sir Water of Manny dysconfited sir Loyes of Spayne.

the whiche they conveyed into their shyppes. Whan sir Gaultyer of Manny, and sir Arnold[1] of Clysson understode those tidynges, they determyned to go thyder, and shewed their myndes to sir Gyles of Tribyquedy, and to the Cathelayne of Guyngnape, the lorde of Landreman, sir Wyllyam of Caducall,[2] the two brethern of Penneforde, and to the other knyghtes that were ther in Hanybont, and all they agreed to go with good wylles. Than they toke their shyppes, and toke with theym a thre thousande archers, and so sayled forthe tyll they came to the port wher as the shyppes of sir Loys of Spaynes lay. Incontynent they toke theym and slewe all that were within theym; and they founde in them suche rychesse that they had marvell therof; than they toke lande and went forthe and brent dyvers townes and houses before them, and departed themselfe into thre batayls, to the intent the soner to fynde their ennemys, and left a thre hundred archers to kepe their shippes, and that they had wonne: than they sette on their way in thre partes. These tidynges anone came to sir Loyes of Spayne; than he drewe togyder all his company, and withdrue backe towarde his shyppes in great hast, and encountred one of the thre batayls; thane he sawe well he must nedes fyght; he sette his men in order, and made newe knyghtes, as his nephue called Alphons. Than sir Loys sette on fiersly, and at the first rencounter many were overthrowen and likely to have ben dysconfyted, and the other two batels had nat come on: for by the cry and noyse of the people of the contrey, they drewe thyder; than the batayle was more feerser. Thenglysshe archers shotte so holly togyder, that the Genevoyes and Spanyardes wer dysconfited, and all slayne, for they of the contrey fell in with staves and stones, so that sir Loys had moche ado to scape, and dyd flee to the shyppes: and of vi. M. there scaped with hym but thre hundred, and his nephue was slayne; and whan he came to the shyppes he coud nat entre, for the archers of England kept hym of: so he was fayne with gret jeopardy to take a lytell shypp called lyque, and suche of his company as he coude get to him, and sayled away as fast as he might. Whan sir Gaulter and his company came to the shyppes, they entred into the best ship they had, and folowed in the chase of sir

[1] *Aymery.*
[2] *Cadoudal.*

CAP. LXXXIIII

Howe sir Water of Manny dysconfited sir Loyes of Spayne.

Loyes of Spayne, who ever fledde so fast before them, that they coude nat overtake hym. Sir Loyes at last toke port at Redon, and he and all his entred into the towne, but he taryed nat there. For incontynent thenglysshmen landed at the same place, so that sir Loyes and his company were fayne to get such horses as they might, and rode thens to Renes, the which was nat ferre thens, and such as were yvell horsed, were fayne to fall in the handes of their ennemyes, so that sir Loys entred into Renes, and thenglysshmen and Bretons retourned to Redone and there lay all nyght. The nexte day they toke agayne the see, to sayle to Hanybont to the countesse of Mountfort, but they had a contrary wynde, so that they were fayne to take lande a thre leages fro Dynant; than they toke their way by lande, and wasted the countrey about Dynant, and tooke horses, suche as they coude get, some without sadyls, and so came to Rochprion. Than sir Gaultier of Manny sayd, Sirs, yf our company were nat so sore traveled, I wolde gyve assaut to this castell; the other knyghtes answered hym, and sayd, Sir, set on at your pleasure, for we shall nat forsake you to dye in the quarell: and so they al went to the assaut. Than Gerarde of Maulyn who was captayne ther, made good defence, so that there was a perylouse assaut: sir Johan Butler, and sir Mathewe of Fresnoy[1] were sore hurte with many other.

[1] *Frenay.*

CAP. LXXXV

Howe sir Gaultier of Manny toke the castell of Goney in the forest.

THIS Gerarde of Maulyn hadde a brother called Rengne[2] of Maulyn, who was captayne of a lytel fortresse therby, called Fauet; and whane he knewe that thenglysshmen and Bretons were assayling of his brother at Rochprion, to thentent to ayde his brother, he yssued out and toke with hym a xl. companyons. And as he came thyderwarde through a fayre medowe by a wood syde, he founde certayne Englysshmen and other, lyeng there hurt: he sette on them, and toke them prisoners, and ledde them to Fauet hurt as they were, and some fledde to sir

[2] *Réné.*

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Howe sir Gaultier of Manny toke the castell of Goney.

Water of Manny, and shewed hym the case; than he ceased the assaut, and he and all his company, in great haste folowed them that ledde the prisoners to Fauet, but he coude nat overtake them, so that Regny and his prisoners were entred into the castell. Than thenglysshmen, as sore trayveled as they were, made ther a gret assaut, but nothyng coude they wynne, they were so well defended, and also it was late: they lay ther all night, to thentent to assayle the castell agayne in the morning. Gerarde of Maulyn knewe all this: he toke his horse in the night, and rode all alone to Dynant, and was ther a lytell before day; than he shewed all the case to the lorde Pyers Portbeufe, capitayne of Dynaunt; and assone as it was day, he assembled all the burgesses of the towne in the common hall, and ther Gerarde of Maulyne shewed theym the mater, in suche wyse, that they were all content to go forth, and so armed them and went towardes Fauet with a sixe thousand men, of one and other. Sir Gaultier of Manny knewe therof by a spye; thane they counsayled togyder and consydred, that it were great danger for them if they of Dynant shulde come on them on the one syde, and sir Charles of Blois and his company on thother syde, so they might be enclosed; than they agreed to leave their companyons in prisone tyll another tyme, that they might amende it. And as they retourned towarde Hanybont, they came to a castell called Goney la forest,[1] the which was yelded up to sir Charles of Bloyes, a fyftene dayes before. Than sir Gaultier sayde howe he wolde go no farther, as sore trayveled as he was, tyll he had made assaute to that castell, to se the demeanynge of them within; ther they made a fierse assaut, and they within quickely defended theymselfe. Sir Gaultier encouraged his company and was ever one of the formast, in so moche that the archers shotte so quyckely and so close togyder, that ther was none durst appere at their defence: sir Gaultier dyd so moche, that parte of the dyke was fylled with busshes and wood so that they came to the walles with pyckaxes, and other instrumentes, and anone made a great hole through the wall, and ther they entred perforce, and slewe all they founde within, and lodged ther the night, and the next day they went to Hanybont.

[1] *Coët.*

CAP. LXXXVI

Howe sir Charles of Bloyes toke the towne of Carahes.[1]

[1] *Carhaix.*

WHAN the countesse knewe of their commynge, she came and mette them and kyssed and made them great chere, and caused al the noble men to dyne with her in the castell. Nowe in this season, sir Charles of Bloys had wonne Vannes and lay at sege at Carahes. The countes of Montfort, and sir Gaultier of Manny, sent certayne messangers to the kyng of Englande, signyfieng hym howe sir Charles of Bloys, and the lordes of France had conquered Vannes, Renes, and dyvers other good townes and castells in Bretaygne, and was lickely to wynne all, without he were shortly resysted. These messangers arryved in Cornewall and rode to Wyndesore to the kyng.

Nowe lette us speke of sir Charles of Bloyes, who had so sore constrayned with assautes and ingens, the towne of Carahes, that they yelded theymselfe up to sir Charles, and he receyved them to mercy, and they sware to hym homage and fealtie, and toke hym for their lorde: and ther he made newe officers, and taryed ther a fyftene dayes: than they determyned to go and ley siege to Hanybont, yet they knewe well the towne was well fortifyed with sufficyent provisyon. And so thyder they went and layed there siege, and the fourth day after, thyder came sir Loys of Spayne, who had layen in the towne of Renes a sixe wekes, in helyng of suche hurtes as he had; he was well receyved there, for he was a knyght moche honoured, and wel beloved among them. The Frenche company dayly encreased, for ther wer dyvers lordes and knyghtes of France were goyng into Spayne warde, for suche warres as was bytwene the kynge of Spayne and the kyng of Granade Sarasyne; and as these knyghtes passed through Poyctou, and harde of these warres in Bretayne, [they] drewe that way. Sir Charles of Bloyes had rayred up agaynst Hanybont, a fyftene or sixtene great engyns, the whiche caste into the towne many a great stone;

CAP. LXXXVI

Howe sir Charles of Bloyes toke the towne of Carahes.

but they within set nat moch therby, for they were well defended there agaynste them: and somtyme they wolde come to the walles, and wype them in derysion, sayeng, Go and seke up your company, whiche resteth in the feldes of Camperle:[1] wherof sir Loys of Spayne and the Genowayes had great dyspite.

[1] *Quimperl*

CAP. LXXXVII

Howe sir John Butler and sir Hubert of Fresnoy were rescued fro deth before Hanybont.

ON a day sir Loyes of Spayne came to the tent of sir Charles du Bloyes, and desyred of hym a gyft for all the servyce that ever he had done, in the presence of dyverse lordes of France; and sir Charles graunted hym, bycause he knewe hymselfe so moche bounde to hym. Sir, quoth he, I requyre you cause the two knyghtes, that be in prison in Fauet to be brought hyther, that is to say sir John Butler and sir Hubert Fresnoy, and to gyve them to me, to do with them at my pleasure. Sir, this is the gyft that I desyre of you: they have chased, dysconfetted, and hurt me, and slayne my nephue Alphons; I can nat tell how otherwyse to be revenged of them, but I shall stryke of their heedes before the towne, in the syght of their companyons. Of these wordes sir Charles was abasshed, and sayd, Certenly, with right a good wyll I woll gyve you the prisoners, syth ye have desyred them: but surely it shulde be a shamefull dede to put so to dethe suche two valyant knyghtes as they be, and it shal be an occasyon to our ennemyes to deale in likewyse with any of ours, if they fall in lyke case, and we knowe nat what shall daylie fall: the chances of warre be dyvers; wherfore dere cosyn, I requyre you to be better advysed. Than sir Loyes sayd, Sir, if ye kepe nat promyse with me, knowe ye for trouth, that I shall depart out of your company, and shall never serve nor love you agayne whyle I lyve. Whan sir Charles sawe none other bote, he sent to Fauet for the two knyghtes, and in a morning they were brought to sir Charles of Bloys tent; but for all that he coulde desyre, he coude nat turne sir

CAP. LXXXVII

How sir John Butler and sir Hubert of Fresnoy were rescued fro deth.

Loyes of Spayne fro his purpose: but sayd playnly, that they shulde be beheeded anone after dyner, he was so sore dyspleased with them. All these wordes that was bytwene sir Charles, and sir Loyes, for thoccasion of these two knightes, anone was come to the knowlege of sir Water of Manny by certayne spyes, that shewed the myschefe that these two knyghtes were in. Than he called his company and toke counsaile what was best to do; some thought one thynge, some thought another, but they wyst nat what remedy to fynde. Than sir Gaultier of Manny sayd, Sirs, it shuld be great honour for us, if we might delyver out of daunger yonther two knyghtes, and yf we put it in adventure, though we fayle therof, yet kynge Edwarde our mayster woll canne us moche thanke therfore, and so woll all other noble men, that herafter shall here of the case: at leest it shal be sayd howe we dyd our devoyre. Sirs, this is myne advyse, if ye woll folow it, for me thynketh a man shulde well adventure his body, to save the lyves of two suche valyant knyghtes; myne advyse is that we devyde ourselfe into two partes, the one part incontynent to yssue out at this gate, and to arange themself on the dykes, to styre thoost, and to skirmysshe: I thynke that all the hole hoost woll come rennyng thyder; and sir Aymery, ye shall be capytayne of that company, and take with you a vi. thousand good archers, and thre hundred men of armes; and I shall take with me a hundred men of armes, and fyve hundred archers, and I wyll yssue out at the posterne covertly, and shal dasshe into the hoost amonge the lodgynges behynde, the whiche I thynke we shall fynde as good as voyde; I shall have suche with me as shall well bring me to the tent of sir Charles du Bloyes, where as I thynke we shall fynde the two knyghtes prisoners, and I ensure you, we shall do our devoyre to delyver them. This devyse pleased them all, and incontynent they armed them, and about the houre of dyner sir Aymery of Clysson yssued out with his company and set opyn the chiefe gate towardes the hoost, and some of them dasshed sodaynly into thoost, and cut downe tentes, and slewe and hurte dyverse; thoost was in a sodayne fray, and in hast armed theym, and drewe towardes thenglysshmen and Bretons, who fayre and easely

CAP. LXXXVII

Howe sir John Butler and sir Hubert of Fresnoy were rescued fro deth.

reculed backe. There was a sore skirmysshe, and many a manne overthrowen on bothe parties. Than sir Aymery drewe his people alonge on the dykes within the barryers, and the archers redy on bothe sydes the way, to receyve their ennemys. The noyse and crye was so great, that all the hole hoost drewe thyder, and left their tentes voyde, savynge a certayne varlettes. In the meane season sir Gaultier of Manny and his company, yssued out at a posterne prively, and came behynde the hoost, and entred into the lodgynges of the Frenche lordes, for there were none to resyst them: all were at the skirmysshe. Thane sir Gaultier went streyght to sir Charles of Bloys tent, and founde there the two knyghtes prisoners, sir Hubert of Fresnoy,[1] and sir John Butteler, and made them incontynent to leape upon two good horses that they brought thyder for the same intent, and retourned incontynent and entred agayne into Hanybont the same way thei yssued out: the countesse receyved them with gret joy. All this season they fought styll at the gate; than tidynges came to the lordes of Fraunce howe the two knyghtes prisoners were rescued: whan sir Loyes of Spayne knewe therof, he thought hymselfe dysceyved, and he demaunded which way they were gone that made that rescue, and it was shewed hym howe they were entred into Hanybont. Thane sir Loyes departed fro the assaut and went to his lodgynge right sore dyspleased; than all other lefte the assaut. In the retrayet there were two knyghtes that adventured themselfe so forwarde that they were taken by the Frenchmen, the lorde Landreman and the Chathelayne of Guyngnape,[2] wherof sir Charles of Bloyes hadde great joye, and they were brought to his tent, and there they were so preched to that they tourned to sir Charles parte, and dyd homage and feaultie to hym. The iii. day after all the lordes assembledde in the lorde Charles tent to take counsayle, for they sawe well that Hanybont was so strong and so well fortifyed with men of warre, that they thought they shulde wynne but lytell there; and also the countrey was so wasted, that they wyst nat whyther to go to forage, and also wynter was at hande: wherfore they all agreed to depart. Than they counsayled sir Charles of Bloyes that he shuld sende newe

[1] *Frenay.*

[2] *Guingamp.*

provisyons to all cyties, townes, and fortresses, suche as he had wonne, and noble capitayns with good soudyours to defende their places fro their ennemyes: and also, if any man wolde treat for a trewse to Whytsontyde, that it shulde nat be refused.

CAP. LXXXVII

How sir John Butler and sir Hubert of Fresnoy were rescued.

CAP. LXXXVIII

Howe sir Charles of Bloyes toke the towne of Jugon and the castell.

TO this counsell every man agreed, for it was thane bytwene saynt Reymy and All Sayntes, the yere of oure Lorde God, M.CCC.xlii. Than every man departed: sir Charles of Bloys went to Carahes[1] with all the lordes of his partie; and he retayned certayne of the lordes styll with hym, to counsayle hym in all his besynesse: and whyle he lay there on a day, a burges and a riche marchant of Jugon was taken by the marshall, sir Robert of Beannoys, and he was brought to the lorde Charles. This burgesse had all the rule in the towne of Jugon under the countesse, and also he was welbeloved in the towne. This burges was put in feare of his lyfe; he desyred to be let passe for his ransome: how be it he was so handled one wayes and other, that he fell in a bargayn to betray the towne of Jugone and to leave opyn a certayne gate: for he was so well betrusted in the towne, that he kept the kayes whan he was ther. This to acomplysshe, he layed his sonne in hostage and sir Charles promysed to gyve hym fyve hunderd pounde of yerely rent: the day of poyntment came, and the gate was lefte opyn at night, and sir Charles and his company entred into the towne with great puyssaunce; the watche of the castell dyd perceyve them, and he began to cry a larum, treason, treason; they of the towne began to styrre; and whan they sawe that the towne was loste, they fledde to the castell by heapes; and the burgesse that had done the treason fled with them for a countenance. And whan it was day, sir Charles and his company entred into the houses to lodge, and toke what they wolde: and whane he sawe the castell so stronge and so full of men, he sayd he wold nat go thens

[1] *Carhaix.*

CAP. LXXXVIII

Howe sir Charles of Bloyes toke the towne of Jugon and the castell.

tyll he had it at his pleasure. Sir Gerard of Rochfort captayne of the castell, perceyved the burgesse that had betrayed them; he toke and hanged hym over the walles: and whan they consydred howe sir Charles had made a vowe nat to depart thens tyll he had the castell, and that their provysion wolde nat serve them x. dayes, they agreed to yelde them, their goodes that was left and their lives saved, the which was graunted them. And so they made fealtie and homage to sir Charles of Bloyes; and he stablysshed captayne there the sayd sir Gerard of Rochfort, and newely refresshed the towne and castell with men of warr and provisyon. In this meane season certayne noble men of Bretayne spake for a truse for a certayn space, bytwene sir Charles of Bloyes and the countesse of Mountfort, the which was agreed by all their ayders and assisters: also the kynge of Englande sent for the countesse to come into Englande; and assone as this trewse was confirmed, the countesse toke see and passed into Englande.

CAP. LXXXIX

Of the feest and justynge made at London by the kyng of England for the love of the countesse of Salisbury.

YE have well harde here before howe the kynge of Englande had great warres in dyvers countreis, and had men of warre in garysons, to his gret cost and charge; as in Picardy, Normandy, Gascoyne, Xaynton, Poyctou, Bretayne, and Scotlande: ye have harde also before how the kyng was stryken in love with the countesse of Salisbury; love quickened hym day and night; her fresshe beautie and godely demeanour was ever in his remembrance, though therle of Salisbury was one of the privyest of his counsell, and one of them that had done hym best servyce. So it fell that for the love of this lady, and for the great desyre that the king had to se her, he caused a great feest to be cryed, and a justyng to be holden in the cyti of London in the myddes of August. The which cry was also made in

CAP. LXXXIX

Of the feest and justynge made at London by the kyng of England.

Flaunders, in Heynault, in Brabant, and in Fraunce, gyveng all commers out of every contrey safe conduct to come and go: and had gyven in commaundement through his owne realme that all lordes, knyghtes, squyers, ladyes, and domosels shuld be ther without any excuse, and commaunded expresly the erle of Salisbury that the lady his wyfe shulde be ther, and to bring with her all ladyes and damosels of that countrey. Therle graunted the kyng as he that thought none yvell: the gode lady durst nat say nay; howbeit she came sore agaynst her wyll, for she thought well ynough wherfore it was; but she durst nat dyscover the mater to her husband; she thought she wolde deale so, to bringe the kynge fro his opynion. This was a noble feest; there was the erle Wyllyam of Heynalt and sir John of Heynalt his uncle, and a great nombre of lordes and knyghtes of hyghe lynage; there was great daunsynge and justynge the space of xv. dayes; the lorde John, eldyst son to the vycount Beaumonde in England was slayne in the justes. All ladyes and damoselles were fresshely besene accordyng to their degrees, except Alys countesse of Salisbury, for she went as simply as she myght, to the intent that the kyng shulde nat sette his regarde on her, for she was fully determyned to do no maner of thynge that shulde tourne to her dyshonour nor to her husbandes. At this feest was sir Henry with the wrye necke, erle of Lancastre, and sir Henry his sonne, erle of Derby; sir Robert Dartoyes, erle of Rychmount; the erle of Northampton and of Glocetter, the erle of Warwyke, the erle of Salisbury, the erle of Penneforde,[1] the erle of Hereford, the erle of Arundell, the erle of Cornewall, the erle of Quenforde,[2] the erle of Suffolke, the baron of Stafforde, and dyvers other lordes and knyghtes of Englande. And or all these nobles departed, the kyng receyved letters fro divers lordes of sundrie countreis, as out of Gascoyne, Bayon, Flaunders, fro Jaques Dartvell, and out of Scotlande fro the lorde Rose[3] and the lorde Persy, and fro sir Edward Baylleull captayne of Berwyke, who sygnifyed the kynge that the Scottes helde but simply the trewse concludedde the yere before, for they newely assembled togyder moch people, for what entent they coude nat tell. Also the captayne in Poyctou, Xanton,[4] Rochell, and Burdeloyes, wrote

[1] *Pembroke.*
[2] *Oxford.*
[3] *Ros.*
[4] *Saintonge.*

CAP. LXXXIX

Of the feest and justynge made at London.

to the kyng howe the Frenchmen made great preparacions for the warre, for the peace made at Arras was nere expyred, wherfore it was tyme for the kyng to take counsayle and advyse; and so he aunswered the messangers fro poynt to poynt.

CAP. XC

Howe the kynge of Englande sent sir Robert Dartoys into Bretayne.

AMONG all other thynges the kynge of Englande wolde socoure the countesse of Mountfort, who was with the quene. Thanne the kyng desyred his cosyn, sir Robert Dartoyes, to take a certayne nombre of men of warre and archers, and to go with the countesse into Bretayne; and so he dyde, and they departed and toke shypping at Hampton, and were on the see a great season, bycause of contrary wyndes: they departed about Ester. At this great counsell at London the kyng was advysed to sende to Scotlande for the parfourmaunce of a trewse to endure for two or thre yeres, consydring that the kyng had so moche besynesse in other places; the kynge of Englande was lothe therto, for he wolde have made suche warr into Scotland that they shulde have ben fayne to have desyred peace; howbeit his counsayle shewed hym suche reasons that he agreed therto. Among other thynges his counsell sayd, that it was great wisdome whan a prince hath warre in dyvers places at one tyme, to agre with one by truse, another to pacify with fayre wordes, and on the thyrde to make warre. Thanne was there a bysshoppe[1] sende on that legacyon; and so he went forthe, and in processe retourned agayne, and brought relacyon howe that the king of Scottes wolde agre to no trewese without the agrement of the Frenche kynge. Than the kyng of Englande sayde openly, that he wolde never rest tyll he had so arayed the realme of Scotlande that it shulde never be recovered: than he commaunded that every man shulde be with hym at Berwyke by Ester, except suche as were apoynted to go into Bretayn. The feest of Ester came, and the kynge held a great court at Berwyke: for the chiefe of the lordes and knyghtes of Eng-

[1] *Of Lincoln.*

land were ther, and there taryed the space of thre wyckes. CAP. XC
In the meane season certayne good men laboured bytwene the parties to have a trewse; and so there a truse was agreed to endure for two yere, and confyrmed by the French kyng. Than every man departed, and the kyng went to Wyndsore: than he sende the lorde Thomas Hollande, and the lorde John Dartvell[1] to Bayon, with two hundred men of armes and four hundred archers, to kepe the fronters ther. Howe the kynge of Englande sent sir Robert Dartoys into Bretayne.

[1] *D'Artecelle*, i.e. *Hardeshull.*

Nowe let us speke of sir Robert Dartoyes. That yere fell so hye that it was nere to thentring of May, in the myddes of the whiche moneth the trewse bytwene the lorde Charles of Bloys and the countesse of Mountfort shulde expyre. Sir Charles of Bloyes was well certifyed of the purchase that the countesse of Mountforte had made in Englande, and of the confort that the kynge had promysed her; for the whiche intent the lorde Loyes of Spayne, sir Charles Germaux,[2] and sir Othes Dornes[3] were layd on the see about Gernzay with a thre thousande Genowayes, and a thousande men of armes and xxxii. great shyppes.

[2] *Grimaldi.*

[3] *Doria.*

CAP. LXXXXI

Of the batell of Gernzay bytwene sir Robert Dartoyes and sir Loys of Spayne on the see.

SIR ROBERT DARTOYES, erle of Rychmont, and with hym therle of Pennefort,[4] the erle of Salisbury, therle of Suffolke, therle of Quenfort,[5] the baron of Stafford, the lorde Spenser, the lord Bourchier, and dyvers other knyghtes of Englande and their companyes were with the countesse of Mountfort on the see, and at last came before the yle of Gernzay. Than they perceyved the great flete of the Genowayes, wherof sir Loys of Spaygne was chiefe captayne. Than their marynars sayd, Sirs, arme you quickely, for yonder be Genowayes and Spaniardes that woll set on you. Than thenglysshmen sowned their trumpettes and reared up their baners and standardes with their armes and devyses, with the baner of saynt George, and sette their shippes in order with their archers before; and as the wynd served them they sayled forth; they were a xlvi. vessels,

[4] *Pembroke.*

[5] *Oxford.*

CAP. LXXXXI
Of the batell of Gernzay on the see.

great and small; but sir Loys of Spaygne had ix. greatter than any of the other, and thre galyes. And in the thre galyes were the thre chiefe captaynes, as sir Loyes of Spayne, sir Charles, and sir Othes; and whan they aproched nere togyder, the Genowayes beganne to shote with their crosbowes, and the archers of Englande agaynst theym: there was sore shotynge bytwene them and many hurte on bothe parties. And whane the lordes, knyghtes, and squyers came nere togyder, there was a sore batayle: the countesse that day was worth a man; she had the harte of a lyon, and had in her hande a sharpe glayve, wherwith she fought feersly. The Spanyardes and Genowayes that were in the great vessels, they cast downe great barres of yron and peaces of tymbre, the which troubled sore thenglysshe archers: this batayle beganne about the tyme of evynsonge, and the nyght departed them, for it was very darke, so that one coude scant knowe an other. Than they withdrewe eche fro other and cast ankers and abode styll in their harnes, for they thought to fight agayne in the mornynge: but about mydnight ther rose suche a tempest so horryble as though all the worlde shulde have endedde. There was none so hardy but wold gladly have ben a land; the shyppes dasshed so togyder, that they went all wolde have ryven in peaces. The lordes of Englande demaunded counsayle of their maryners what was best to do. They aunswered, to take lande assone as they might, for the tempest was so great, that if they toke the see, they were in daunger of drownyng. Than they drewe up their ankers, and bare but a quarter sayle, and drewe fro that place. The Genowayes on the other syde drewe upp their ankers, and toke the depe of the see, for their vesselles were greatter than thenglysshe shyppes, they might better abyde the brunt of the see; for if the great vessels had come nere the lande, they were lickely to have ben broken. And as they departed they toke foure Englysshe shyppes, laded with vytell, and tayled them to their shyppes. The storme was so hedeouse, that in lasse than a day they were driven a hundred leages fro the place wher they were before; and the Englysshe shyppes toke a lytell haven nat ferre fro the cytie of Vannes, wherof they were ryght gladde.

CAP. LXXXXII

Howe sir Robert Dartoys toke the cytie of Vannes, in Bretayne.

THUS by this tourment of the see brake and departed the batell on the see, bytwene sir Robert Dartoyes and sir Loyes of Spayne. No man coude tell to whome to gyve the honour, for they departed agaynst bothe their wylles. Thenglysshmen toke lande nat farre of fro Vannes, and brought all their horse and harnes a lande; than they devysed to sende their navy to Hanybont and to go theymselfe and ley siege to Vannes; therin were captayns sir Henry of Leon and Olyver of Clysson, and with them the lorde of Turmyne[1] and the lord of Loheac. Whan they sawe thenglysshmen come to besiege them they toke good hede to their defences, bothe to the castell and to the walles and gates; and at every gate they set a knyght with x. men of armes and xx. crosbowes.

[1] *Tournemine.*

Nowe let us speke of sir Loyes of Spayne and his company: they were sore tourmented on the see, and in great daunger all that nyght and the nexte day tyll noone, and loste two of their shyppes menne and all. Thane the thirde day about prime the see apeased; than they demaunded of the maryners what parte of lande was nexte; they aunswered the realme of Navarre, and that the wynde hadde driven theym out of Bretayne more than sixscore leages; than there they cast anker and abode the fludde, and whan the tyde came they had good wynde to retourne to Rochell. So they costed Bayon, but they wolde nat come nere it; and they met foure shippes of Bayon commyng fro Flaunders; they sette on them and toke theym shortly, and slewe all that were in them: than they sayled towardes Rochell, and in a fewe dayes they arryved at Guerrande; ther they toke lande, and hard ther howe sir Robert Dartoyes lay at siege before Vannes. Than they sent to the lorde Charles of Bloyes to knowe his pleasure what they shuld do. Sir Robert Dartoys lay at siege with a thousande men of armes and thre thousande archers, and wasted all

CAP. LXXXXII

Howe sir Robert Dartoys toke the cytie of Vannes, in Bretayne.

the countrey about, and brent to Dynant and to Gony la Forest,[1] so that none durst abyde in the playne countrey: there were many assautes and skirmysshes at the barryers of Vannes. The countesse of Mountfort was styll with sir Robert Dartoys at the siege; also sir Gaultier of Manny, who was in Hanybont, delyvered the kepynge of the towne to sir Wyllyam Caducall[2] and to sir Gerard of Rochfort, and toke with him sir Yves of Tribyquedy, and a C. men of armes, and CC. archers, and departed fro Hanybont and went to the siege before Vannes. Than incontynent there was made a great assaut in thre places all at ones; the archers shotte so thycke, that they within scante durst apere at ther defence: this assaut endured a hole day, and many hurt on bothe parties: agaynst night thenglysshmen withdrue to their lodgynges, and they within, in likewyse sore wery of trayvell, and they unarmed them: but they of the hoost without dyd nat so, for they kept on styll their harnes, except their heed peces, and so dranke and refresshed them. And than, by the advyse of sir Robert Dartoyes they ordayned agayne thre batayls; and two of them to assaute at the gates, and the thirde batayle to kepe themselfe prive tyll the other two batayls had assayled along, so that all the strength of the towne shulde be ther by all lickelyhode to defend; than it was ordayned that this thyrde batayle shuld sette on the moost feblest place of all the towne with ladders, ropes, and hokes of yron to caste on the walles. And as they devysedde, so it was done: sir Robert Dartoys with the first batell came and made assaut in the night at one of the gates, and therle of Salisbury with the seconde batell at an other gate. And bycause it was darke, to thyntent to make them within the more abasshed, they made great fiers, so that the brightnesse therof gave lyght into the cytie, wherby they within had wende that their houses had ben a fyre, and cryed Treason; many were a bedde, to rest them of their trayvell the day before, and so rose sodenly and ran towardes the lyght, without order or gode aray, and without counsell of their captayns: every man within armed them. Thus whyle they were in this trouble, therle of Quenefort[3] and sir Water of Manny with the thyrde batell came to the walles, wher as there was no defence made, and with their

[1] *Coët.*

[2] *Cadoudal.*

[3] *Oxford.*

ladders mounted up and entred into the towne; the Frenchmen toke no hede of them, they were so ocupyed in other places, tyll they sawe their ennemis in the stretes. Than every man fledde away to save themselfe; the captayns had no leaser to go into the castell, but were fayne to take their horses and yssued out at a postern: happy was he that might get out to save hymselfe; all that ever were sene by thenglysshmen were taken or slayne, and the towne over ron and robbed: and the countesse and sir Robert Dartoyes entred into the towne with great joy.

CAP. LXXXXII

Howe sir Robert Dartoys toke the cytie of Vannes, in Bretayne.

CAP. LXXXXIII

Howe sir Robert Dartoys dyed, and where he was buryed.

THUS, as I have shewed you, the cyte of Vannes was taken, and a fyve dayes after the countesse of Mountfort, sir Gaultier of Manny, sir Yves of Tribiquedy, and dyverse other knyghtes of Englande and of Bretayne, returned to Hanybont; and therle of Salysbury, therle of Pennefort, therle of Suffolke, therle of Cornwall, departed fro Vannes, fro sir Robert Dartoyes, with thre thousande men of armes and thre M. archers, and went and layed siege to the cytie of Renes. And sir Charles de Bloyes was departed thens but foure dayes before, and was gone to Nantes; but he had left in the cytie many lordes, knyghtes, and squyers: and styll sir Loys of Spayne was on the see, and kept so the fronters agaynst Englande, that none coude go bytwene Englande and Bretayne without great danger: they had done that yere to Englande great damage. For the takyng thus of Vannes by thenglysshmen the countrey was sore abashedde, for they thought that there hadde been suche capitaynes that had ben able to have defendedde it agaynst all the worlde; they knewe well the towne was stronge and well provyded of men of warre and artyllary; for this misadventure sir Henry of Leon and the lorde Clysson was sore abasshedde, for their ennemyes spake shame agaynst theym. These two knyghtes were so sore dyspleased with the mater, that they gette togyder a com-

CAP. LXXXXIII

Howe sir Robert Dartoys dyed, and where he was buryed.

pany of knyghtes and soudyers; so that at a day apoynted they mette before the cytie of Vannes, mo than xii. thousande of one and other: thyder came the lorde Robert of Beaumanoyre, marshall of Bretayn; they layd sege to the cite on all sydes, and than assayled it fersly. Whan sir Robert Dartoyes sawe howe he was besieged in the cytie, he was nat neglygent to kepe his defence; and they without were fierse, bycause they wolde nat that they that laye at siege at Renes shulde nat trouble theym. They made so feerse assaute, and gave theym within so moche ado, that they wan the barryers, and after the gates, and so entred into the cytie by force. The Englysshmen were put to the chase, and dyverse hurte and slayne, and specially sir Robert Dartoyes was sore hurte, and scapedde hardely untaken: he departed at a posterne, and the lorde Stafforde with hym; the lorde Spencer was taken by sir Henry of Leon, but he was so sore hurte that he dyed the thyrde day after. Thus the Frenchemen wanne agayne the cytie of Vannes, and sir Robert Dartoyes taryed a season in Hanybont sore hurte, and at laste he was counsayled to go into Englande to seke helpe for his hurtes; but he was so sore handled on the see, that his soores rankeled, and at laste landed, and was brought to London, and within a shorte space after he dyed of the same hurtes, and was buryed in London, in the church of saynt Poule. The kynge dyd as nobly his obsequy as though it had ben for his owne proper cosyne germayne, therle of Derby: his dethe was greatly bemoned in Englande, and the kyng of Englande sware that he wolde never rest tyll he had revenged his dethe, and sayde howe he wolde go hymselfe into Bretaygne, and bringe the contrey in suche case, that it shulde nat be recovered agayne in fortie yere after. Incontynent he sent out letters throughout his realme, that every noble man and other shulde come to hym within a moneth after: and prepared a great navy of shyppes. And at the ende of the moneth he toke the see, and toke landyng in Bretayne, nat farre fro Vannes, there as sir Robert Dartoyes arryved; he was thre dayes a landyng of all his provisyon: the iiii. day he went towarde Vannes: and all this season therle of Salisbury and therle of Pembroke were lyeng at siege before Renes.

CAP. LXXXXIIII

Howe the kyng of Englande came into Bretayne to make warre there.

AFTER the kyng of Englande had ben a lande a certayne space, he went and layed siege to Vannes; and within the towne ther was sir Olyver of Clysson, and sir Henry of Leon, the lorde of Turmyne,[1] *Tournemine.* sir Geffray of Malestrayet, and sir Guy of Loheac: they supposed well before that the kyng of Englande wolde come into Bretayne, wherfore they had provyded the towne and castell with all thinges necessary. The kyng made a great assaut that endured halfe a day; but lytell good they dyd, the cyte was so well defended. Whane the countesse of Mountfort knewe that the kyng of Englande was come, she departed fro Hanybont, accompanyed with sir Gaultier of Manny, and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers, and came before Vannes to se the kyng and the lordes of thoost, and a foure dayes after she retourned agayne to Hanybont with all her owne company.

Nowe let us speke of sir Charles of Bloyes, who was in Nauntes: and assone as he knewe that the kyng of England was aryved in Bretayne, he sent worde therof to the Frenche kyng his uncle, desyring him of socour. Whan the king of England sawe this cyte so strong, and hard reported howe the countrey ther about was so poore and so sore wasted, that they wyst nat wher to get any forage, nother for man nor beest, than he ordayned to devyde his nombre: first therle of Arundell, the lorde Stafforde, sir Water of Manny, sir Yves of Tribyquedy, and sir Richard of Rochfort, with vi. C. men of armes, and vi. M. archers, to kepe styll the siege before Vannes, and to ryde and distroy the countrey all about; and the kyng went to Renes, wher he was joyfully receyved with them that lay at siege there before, and had done a long season. And whan the kyng had ben ther a fyve dayes, he understode that sir Charles du Bloyes was at Nantes, and made there a great assemble of men of warre. Thane the kynge departed fro Renes, and left them styll

CAP. LXXXXIIII

Howe the kyng of Englande came into Bretayne to make warre there.

ther that were ther before, to contynue their siege. Than the kyng came before Nauntes, and besieged it as farre as he might, but he coude nat lay rounde about, the cite was so great: the marshall of the hoost rode abrode and distroyed great part of the countrey. The kyng ordayned his batell on a lytell mountayne without the towne, and there taryed fro the mornynge tyll it was noone, wenyng that sir Charles of Bloys wolde have yssued out to have gyven hym batayle: and whan they sawe it wolde nat be, they drewe to their lodgynges; the fore ryders ranne to the baryers, and skirmysshed and brent the subbarbes. Thus the kyng lay before Nauntes, and sir Charles within, who wrote to the Frenche kyng the state of thenglysshmen. The Frenche kyng had commaunded his sonne, the duke of Normandy, to gyve ayde to sir Charles of Bloyes, the which duke was as then come to Angyers, and there made his assemble of men of warr. The kyng of Englande made dyvers assautes to Nantes, but ever he lost of his men and wanne nothyng: and whan he sawe that by assautes he coude do nothyng, and that sir Charles wolde nat yssue out into the felde to fyght with hym, than he ordayned therle of Quenforte,[1] sir Henry vycont of Beaumont, the lorde Percy, the lorde Rose,[2] the lorde Mombray,[3] the lorde Dalawarre, the lorde Raynolde Cobham, and the lorde sir John Lysle, with sixe hundred men of armes, and two hundred archers to kepe styll the siege ther, and to ryde and distroy the countrey all about. And than the kynge went and layed sege to the towne of Dynant, wherof sir Peter Portbeufe was captayne: the kyng made there fierse assautes, and they within defended themselfe valyantly. Thus the kyng of England all at one season had sieges lyeng to thre cites and a good towne in Bretaygne.

[1] *Oxford.*
[2] *Ras.*
[3] *Mowbray.*

CAP. LXXXXV

Howe sir Henry of Leon and the lorde Clysson were taken prisoners before Vannes.

WHYLE the kyng of England was thus in Bretayne, wastynge and distroyeng the contrey, suche as he had lyeng at sege before Vannes gave dyvers assautes, and specially at one of the gates. And on a day ther was a great assaut, and many feates of armes done on bothe parties; they within set opyn the gate and came to the baryers, bycause they sawe the erle of Warwykes baner, and therle of Arundels, the lorde Staffordes, and sir Water of Mannes adventuryng themself jeopardously, as they thought: wherfore the lorde Clysson, sir Henry of Leon, and other adventured themselfe couragyously: there was a sore skirmysshe; finally the Englysshmen were put backe. Than the knyghtes of Bretayne openyd the baryers and adventured themselfe, and left six knyghtes with a gode nombre to kepe the towne, and they yssued out after thenglysshmen: and thenglysshmen reculed wysely, and ever fought as they sawe their avantage. Thenglysshmen multiplyed in suche wyse, that at last the Frenchmen and Bretons wer fayne to recule backe agayne to their towne, nat in so good order as they came forthe: than thenglysshmen folowed them agayne, and many were slayne and hurt. They of the towne sawe their men recule agayne and chased: than they closed their barryers in so yvell a tyme, that the lorde Clysson and sir Henry of Leon were closed without, and ther they were bothe taken prisoners. And on the other syde the lorde Stafforde was gone in so farre, that he was closed in bytwene the gate and the baryers, and ther he was taken prisoner, and dyverse that were with hym taken and slayne. Thus thenglysshmen drewe to their lodgynges and the Bretons into the cytie of Vannes.

CAP. LXXXXVI

Howe the kyng of Englande toke the towne of Dynant.

THUS, as ye have harde, these knyghtes were taken on bothe parties; there was no mo suche assautes after. Nowe let us speke of the king of Englande, who lay at sege before Dynant. Whan he had layne ther a four dayes, he gate a great nombre of bottes and barges, and made his archers to entre into theym, and to rowe to the pales, wherewith the towne was closedde; it had none other walles. The archers shot so feersly that non durst shewe at their defence; than was ther certayne other with axes; so that whyle the archers dyd shote, they hewed downe the pales, and so entred by force. Than they of the towne fledde to the market place, but they kept but a small order, for they that entred by the pales came to the gate and dyd opyn it; than every man entred, and the capitayne sir Pyers Portbeufe taken, and the towne over ron and robbed: thenglysshmen wan moche richesse in that towne, for it was a great towne of marchandyse. Whan the kyng had taken his pleasure ther as long as it had pleased hym, he left the towne voyde, and went to Vannes and lodged there.

Nowe let us retourne to sir Loys of Spayne, and to sir Charles Germaux[1] and sir Othes Dornes,[2] who was as than admyrall on the see, with viii. galeys, xiii. barkes, and xxx. other shyppes, with Genowayes and Spanyardes. They kept the coost bytwene England and Bretayne, and dyd moche damage to them that came to refresshe the hoost before Vannes. And at a tyme they set on the kynge of Englandes navy lyeng at Aucerre, in a lytell havyn besyde Vannes, so that they slewe a great part of them that kepte the shyppes, and had done moch more damage yf thenglysshmen lyeng at the siege had nat ron thyder in all hast; and yet as moche hast as they made, sir Loys of Spayne toke away iiii. shippes laded with provisyon, and drowned thre and all that

[1] *Grimaldi.*
[2] *Doria.*

was in them. Than the kyng was counselled to drawe part of his navy to Brest haven and the other part to Hanybont, the which was done. And styll endured the siege before Vannes and Renes.

CAP. LXXXVI

Howe the kyng of Englande toke Dynant.

CAP. LXXXXVII

What lordes of France the duke of Normandy brought into Bretayne agaynst the kyng of Englande.

NOWE let us retourne to the journey that the duke of Normandy made the same season in Bretayne, to ayde and confort his cosyn syr Charles de Bloyes. The duke knewe well howe the kyng of Englande had sore damaged the contrey of Bretayn, and had besieged thre cytes, and taken the towne of Dynant. Than the duke departed fro the cytie of Angyers, with mo than iiii. M. men of armes, and xxx. M. of other. He toke the heygh way to Nauntes, by the gyding of the two marshals of Fraunce, the lorde of Momorency and the lorde of saynt Venant; and after them rode the duke and therle of Alanson his uncle, therle of Bloys his cosyn; the duke of Burbone was ther, therle of Ponthyeu, therle of Bolayne, the erle of Vandome, therle of Dammartyne, the lorde of Craon, the lorde of Coucy, the lorde of Suly, the lorde of Frenes, the lorde of Roy, and so many lordes, knightes, and squyers of Normandy, Dauvergne, Berry, Lymosen, Dumayn,[1] Poictou, and Xaynton, that it were to long to reherse them all, and dayly they encreased. Tidynges came to the lordes that lay at siege before Nantes, that the duke of Normandy was commynge thyder with xl. M. men of warr. Incontynent thei sent worde therof to the kyng of England; than the kyng studyed a lytell, and thought to breke up his siege before Vannes, and also his siege before Renes, and all togyder to drawe to Nauntes. But than his counsell sayd to hym, Sir, ye be here in a good sure ground, and nere to your navy, and sende for them that lyeth at siege before Nantes to come to you, and let the siege ly styll before Renes, for they be nat so ferr of but they shal be ever redy to come

[1] *Maine.*

CAP. LXXXXVII

What lordes of France the duke of Normandy brought into Bretayne.

to you yf nede be. The kynge agreed to this counsell, and so sent for them before Nauntes, and they came to hym to Vannes. The duke of Normandy came to Nantes, wher sir Charles de Bloys was; the lordes loged in the cytie, and their men abrode in the contrey, for they coude nat all lodge in the cytie nor in the subbarbes.

CAP. LXXXXVIII

Howe the kynge of Englande and the duke of Normandy were hoost agaynst hoost lodged before Vannes.

WHYLE the duke of Normandy was at Nauntes, the lordes of Englande that lay at siege before Renes, on a day made a great and a feerse assaut, for they had made many instrumentes to assaut withall. This assaut enduredde a hole day, but they wan nothynge, but lost dyvers of their men. Within the cytie was the lorde Dancenys, the lorde of Pont, sir John of Malatrayt, Yvan Charuell, and Bertram Grasquyne,[1] squyer; they defended themselfe so well, with the bysshoppe of the cytie, that they toke no damage; howebeit, thenglysshmen lay ther styll, and over ran and wasted the contrey all about. Than the duke of Normandy departed with all his host, and drue towarde Vannes, the soner to fynde his ennemies, for he was enformed, howe they of Vannes were in moost jeopardy, and in peryll of lesyng; than the two marshals went forthe, and sir Geffray of Charney, and therle of Guynes constable of Fraunce, made the areregarde. So thus the Frenchmen came to Vannes, on thother syde, agaynst ther as the kyng of Englande lay; they lay alonge by a fayre medowe syde, and made a great dyke about their host: the marshals and fore ryders often tymes skirmysshed toguyder on bothe parties; than the kynge of Englande sende for therle of Salisbury, and therle of Pembroke, and the other that lay at siege at Renes, to come to hym, and so they dyd. Thenglysshemen and the Bretons of that partie, were well to the nombre of ii. M. and v. C. men of armes, and vi. M. archers, and iiii. M. of

[1] *Bertrand du Guesclin.*

other men a fote: the Frenchmen were foure tymes as many, well aparelled. The kyng of England had so fortifyed his hoost, that the Frenchmen coude take no advauntage of hym, and he made no mo assautes to the towne, bycause of sparyng of his men and artyllary: thus these two hoostes lay one agaynst another a longe season, tyll it was well onwarde in wynter. Than pope Clement the sixt, sende the cardynall of Penester,[1] and the cardynall of Cleremount, to entreat for a peace, and they rode often tymes bytwene the parties, but they coude bring them to no peace. In the mean season, ther were many skirmysshes and men taken, slayne, and overthrowen on bothe parties: thenglysshmen durst nat go a foragyng, but in great companyes, for they were ever in great danger, by reason of busshmentes that were layd for them: also sir Loyes of Spayne kept so the see coost, that with moche danger, any thynge came to thenglysshe hoost; the Frenchmen thought to kepe the kynge ther in maner as besieged: also the Frenchmen endured moche payne, with wete and cold: for day and night it rayned on them, wherby they lost many of their horses, and were fayne to dyslodge and lye in the playne feldes, they had so moche water in their lodgynges. At last these cardynals dyd so moch, that there was a truse agreed for thre yere: the kyng of Englande, and the duke of Normandy, sware to upholde the same, without brekyng, as the custome is in suche lyke cases.

CAP. LXXXXVIII

Howe the kynge of Englande and the duke of Normandy were hoost agaynst hoost lodged before Vannes.

[1] *Preneste.*

CAP. LXXXXIX

Howe the French kynge caused the heedes to be stryken of, of the lorde Clysson and dyverse other lordes of Bretayne and of Normandy.

THUS this great assembly brake uppe, and the siege raysed at Vannes: the duke of Normandy went to Nantes, and had with hym the two cardynals. And the kyng of Englande went to Hanybont, to the countesse of Mountfort; ther was an exchaunge made bytwene the baron of Stafford, and the lorde Clysson. Whan the kyng

CAP. LXXXXIX

Howe the French kynge caused the heedes to be stryken of, of the lorde Clysson and dyverse other lordes.

had taryed at Hanybont as long as it pleased him, than he left ther therle of Penbroke, sir Wyllyam of Caducall,[1] and other, and thane retourned into Englande aboute Christmas; and the duke of Normandy retourned into Fraunce, and gave leave to every man to depart. And anone after, the lord Clysson was taken upon suspecyons of treason, and was putte into the chatelet of Parys, wherof many had great marveyle; lordes and knyghtes spake eche to other therof, and sayde, What mater is that is layd agaynst the lorde Clysson. Ther was none coude tell, but some ymagined that it was false envy, bycause the kynge of England bare more favour to delyver hym in exchang, rather than sir Henry of Leon, who was styll in prison; bycause the kyng shewed hym that avantage, his enemyes suspected in hym peradventure that was nat true; upon the which suspect, he was beheeded at Paris, without mercy or excuse; he was gretly bemoned. Anone after, ther were dyvers knyghtes were accused in semblable case, as the lorde of Maletrayt and his son, the lorde of Vangor,[2] sir Thybault of Morilon, and dyvers other lordes of Bretayne, to the nombre of x. knyghtes and squyers, and they lost all their heedes at Parys. And anone after, as it was sayd, ther was put to dethe by famyne iiii. knyghtes of Normandy, sir Wyllyam Baron, sir Henry of Maletrayt, the lorde of Rochtesson, and sir Rycharde of Persy, wherby after there fell moche trouble in Bretayne, and in Normandy. The lorde of Clysson had a sonne called as his father was, Olyver: he went to the countesse of Mountfort, and to her sonne, who was of his age, and also without father, for he dyed as ye have hard before, in the castell of Lour[3] in Paris.

[1] *Cadoudal.*

[2] *Avaugour.*

[3] *The Louvre.*

CAP. C

Of the order of saynt George that kyng Edwarde stablysshed in the castell of Wyndsore.

IN this season the king of England toke pleasure to newe reedefy the Castell of Wyndsore, the whiche was begonne by kyng Arthure; and ther firste beganne the Table Rounde, wherby sprange the fame of so many noble

knightes throughout all the worlde. Than kyng Edwarde determyned to make an order and a brotherhode of a certayne nombre of knyghtes, and to be called knyghtes of the blewe garter; and a feest to be kept yerely at Wynsore on saynt Georges day. And to begynne this order, the kynge assembled togyder erles, lordes and knyghtes of his realme, and shewed them his intencyon; and they all joyously agreed to his pleasur, bycause thei sawe it was a thyng moche honourable, and wherby great amyte and love shulde growe and encrease. Than was ther chosen out a certayne nombre of the moost valyantest men of the realme, and they sware and sayled to mentayne the ordynaunces, suche as were devysed: and the kyng made a chapell in the castell of Wynsore, of saynt George, and stablysshed certayne chanons ther to serve God, and enduyd them with fayre rent. Than the kyng sende to publysshe this feest, by his heraldes, into Fraunce, Scotlande, Burgone, Heynault, Flaunders, Brabant, and into thempyre of Almayne, gyveng to every knight and squyer that wolde come to the sayd feest xv dayes of salve conduct before the feest and after; the whiche feest to begynne at Wyndsore, on saynt George day nexte after, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCC. xliiii. and the quene to be ther acompanyed with iii. C. ladyes and damosels, all of noble lynage, and aparelled acordingly.

CAP. C

Of the order of saynt George that kyng Edwarde stablysshed.

CAP. CI

Howe the kyng of Englande delyverd out of prison sir Henry of Leon.

WHYLE the kynge made this preparacion at Wyndsore for this sayd feest, tidynges came to hym howe the lorde Clysson and dyvers other lordes had lost their heedes in Fraunce, wherwith the kyng was sore dyspleased; in so moch, that he was in purpose to have served sir Henry of Leon in lyke case, whom he had in prisonne: but his cosyn the erle of Derby, shewed to hym before his counsayle, suche reasons to asswage his yre, and to refrayne his courage; sayeng, Sir, though that kyng Philyppe in his hast hath done so foule a dede, as to put to

CAP. CI

Howe the kyng of Englande delyverd out of prison sir Henry of Leon.

dethe such valyant knyghtes, yet sir, for all that, blemysshe nat your noblenesse; and sir, to say the trouth, your prisoner ought to bere no blame, for his dede; but sir, put hym to a resonable raunsome. Than the kynge sent for the knyght prisoner to come to his presence, and than sayd to hym, A, sir Henry, sir Henry, myne adversary Philyppe of Valoyes hath shewed his felony right cruell, to put to dethe suche knyghtes, wherwith I am sore dyspleased; and it is thought to us, that he hath done it in dyspite of us; and if I wolde regarde his malyce, I shulde serve you in lyke maner, for ye have done me more dyspleasure, and to myne in Bretayne, than any other person; but I woll suffre it and let hym do his worst; for to my power I woll kepe myne honour; and I am content ye shall come to a lyght ransome, for the love of my cosyn of Derby, who hathe desyred me for you, so that ye woll do that I shall shewe you. The knyght answered and sayd, Sir, I shal do all that ye shall commaunde me. Than sayd the kyng, I knowe well ye be one of the richest knyghtes in Bretaygne, and yf I wolde sore cease you, ye shulde pay me xxx. or xl. M. scutes. But ye shall go to myne adversary Philyppe of Valoyes, and shewe hym on my behalfe, that syth he hath so shamefully putte to dethe so valyant knyghtes, in the dispyte of me, I say and woll make it good, he hath broken the truse taken bytwene me and hym; wherfore also I renownce it on my parte, and defye hym fro this day forewarde. And so that ye woll do this message, your raunsome shal be but x. M. scutes, the which ye shall pay and sende to Bruges within xv. dayes after ye be past the see; and moreover ye shall say to all knyghtes and squyers of those partes, that for all this they leave nat to come to our feest at Wyndsore, for we wolde gladly se theym, and they shall have sure and save conduct to retourne, xv. dayes after the feest. Sir, sayd the knyght, to the beste of my power I shall accomplysshe your message, and God rewarde your grace for the courtessy ye shewe me, and also I humbly thanke my lorde of Derby of his good wyll.

And so sir Henry of Leon departed fro the kyng and went to Hampton, and ther toke the see, to thyntent to arryve at Harflewe, but a storme toke hym on the see, which

endured fyftene dayes, and lost his horse, which were caste into the see, and sir Henry of Leon was so sore troubled, that he had never helth after; howebeit, at laste he toke lande at Crotoy: and so he and all his company went a fote to Abvyle, and ther they get horses: but sir Henry was so sicke that he was fayne to go in a lytter, and so came to Parys to kyng Philyppe, and dyd his message, fro poynt to poynt; and he lyved nat long after, but dyed as he went into his countrey, in the cytie of Angyers; God assoyle his soule.

CAP. CI

Howe the kyng of Englande delyverd out of prison sir Henry of Leon.

CAP. CII

Howe the kynge of Englande sent therle of Derby to make warre into Gascoyne.

THE day of saynt George approched that this great feest shuld be at Wynsore; ther was a noble company of erles, barownes, ladyes, and damoselles, knyghtes, and squyers, and great tryumphe justynge and tournayes, the which endured fyftene dayes. And thyder came many knyghtes of dyverse contreis, as of Flanders, Heynalt, and Brabant, but out of France ther came none. This feest duryng, dyverse newse came to the kynge out of dyvers contreis. Thyder came knyghtes of Gascoyne, as the lorde of Lespare, the lorde of Chaumount, the lorde of Musydent, sende fro the other lordes of the countrey, suche as were Englysshe, as the lorde de Labreth,[1] the lorde of Punyers,[2] the lorde of Mountferant, the lorde of Duras, the lorde of Carton,[3] the lorde of Grayly, and dyverse other: and also ther were sent messangers fro the cytie of Bayon, and fro Bourdeaux. These messangers were well feested with the kynge and with his counsayle, and they shewed hym howe that his countrey of Gascoyne, and his good cytie of Bourdeaux were but febly conforted, wherfore they desyred hym to sende thyder suche a captayne, and suche men of warr, that they might resyste agaynst the Frenchemen who were in a great army and kept the feldes. Than the kyng ordayned his cosyn, the erle of Derby, to go thyder, and he to be as chiefe captayne, and with hym to go therle of Penbroke, therle of Quenforde,[4] the baron of Stafforde, sir

[1] *D'Albret.*
[2] *Pommiers.*
[3] *Craton.*
[4] *Oxford.*

CAP. CII

Howe the kynge of Englande sent therle of Derby to make warre into Gascoyne.

Gaultier of Manny, the lorde Franque de la Hall, the Lyevre[1] de Brabant, sir Hewe Hastynges, sir Stephyn de Tombey, the lorde of Manny, sir Rychard Haydon, the lorde Normant of Fynefroyde,[2] sir Robert of Lerny, sir John Norwyche, sir Rycharde Rocklefe,[3] sir Robert of Quenton,[4] and dyvers other; they were a fyve hundred knyghtes and squyers, and two thousande archers. The king sayd to his cosyn therle of Derby, Take with you golde and sylver ynough, ye shall nat lacke, and depart largely therof with your men of warr, wherby ye shall gette their love and favoure. Than the kynge ordayned sir Thomas Daugorne[5] into Bretaygne to the countesse of Mountfort, to helpe to kepe her countrey for all the peace that was taken, for he douted that the Frenche kyng wolde make warre, bycause of the message that he sent hym by sir Henry of Leon; and with hym he sent a hundred men of armes, and two hundred archers. Also the kyng ordayned therle of Salisbury, and therle Dulnestre, into the northe parties, with a hundred men of armes and sixe hundred archers, for the Scottes had rebelled agayne to hym, and had brent in Cornwall, and ronne to Bristowe, and besieged the towne of Dulnestre. Thus the kynge sent his men of warr into dyvers places, and delyverd the captayns golde and sylver sufficyent to pay their wages, and to retayne soudyers: and so every company departed as they were ordayned.

[1] alias *the Haze.*
[2] *Gwinford.*
[3] *Radcliffe.*
[4] *Oxendon.*
[5] *Dagworth.*

Nowe first lette us speke of therle of Derby for he had the grettest charge. He toke shypping at Hampton and sayled tyll he arryved at Bayon, a good towne and a stronge cytie the which had long been Englysshe. They landed ther the sixt day of June in the yere of our Lorde M.iii.C.xliiii. Ther they were well receyved, and taryed ther a sevyn dayes, and the eyght day departed and went to Burdeaux, wher they were receyved with solempne processyon: and the erle of Derby was lodged in thabbay of saynt Andrewe. And whan the erle of Laylle,[6] the Frenche kynges lyeutenant in those parties understode of the commyng of thenglysshmen, he sende for therle of Comyges,[7] the erle of Pyergourt,[8] the erle of Carman, the vycount of Vyllemure, the erle of Valentenoyes, therle of Myrande, the erle of Duras, the lorde of Maryde, the lorde Delabard, the lorde of Pycornet, the

[6] *Lisle.*
[7] *Comminges.*
[8] *Perigord.*

vycont of Chastellone, the lorde of Newcastell,[1] the lorde of Lestyne,[2] the abbot of saynt Sylver, and all other lordes, suche as helde of the French partie. And whan they were all togyder, thane he demaunded counsayle on the commyng of therle of Derby: they answered howe they thought themselfe strong ynough to kepe the passage at Bergerate,[3] over the ryver of Garon, the which sayeng pleased well therle of Layll,[4] who as than was in Gascoyne, as kyng under the French kyng, and had kept that contrey as long as the warre had endured, and had taken dyvers townes and castels fro thenglysshmen. Than these lordes sent for men of warr fro all parties, and went and kept the subbarbes of Bergerate, the which were great, and inclosed with the ryver of Garon.

CAP. CII
Howe the kynge of Englande sent therle of Derby to make warre into Gascoyne.

[1] *Castelnau.*
[2] *Lescun.*
[3] *Bergerac.*
[4] *Lisle.*

CAP. CIII

Howe the erle of Derby conquered Bergerathe.

WHAN therle of Derby had ben at Burdeux a xv. dayes, he understode howe these lordes and knyghtes of Gascoyne were at Bergerath: in a mornynge he drewe thyderward, and he caused sir Gaultier of Manny, and sir Franque de Hall, to go before, who were marshalles of his hoost. That mornynge they rode thre leages to a castell that was Englysshe called Mounterolyer,[5] but a lytell leage fro Bergerath: ther they taryed all that day and that night; the next mornynge, their currours ranne to the barryers of Bergerath; and at their retourne, they reported to sir Gaultier of Manny, howe they had sene parte of the demeanour of the Frenchemen, the which they thoght to be but symple. That mornynge thenglysshmen dyned betymes, and as they satte at dyner sir Gaultier of Manny behelde therle of Derby, and sayde, Sir, yf we were good men of armes, we shulde drinke this evenynge with the Frenche lordes beyng in Bergerath. Quoth therle, And for me it shall nat be let. Whan every man harde that, they sayde, Let us go arme us, for we shall ryde incontynent to Bergerath: ther was no more to do, but shortly every man was armed and a horsebacke. Whan the erle of Derby sawe his company so well wylled, he was right joyeouse and sayde,

[5] *Montcroullier.*

CAP. CIII
Howe the erle of Derby conquered Bergerathe.

Lette us ryde to our ennemies, in the name of God and saynt George. So they rode forthe with their baners displayed, in all the heate of they day, tyll they came to the baylles of Bergerath, the whiche were nat easy to wynne, for part of the ryver of Garon went about it. Whan the Frenchmen sawe thenglysshmen come to assayle them, they sayde amonge themselfe, howe they shulde sone be driven backe; they yssued out in good order; they had many of the villayns of the contrey yll armed: the Englysshmen approched, and the archers began to shote fiersly. And whanne those fotemen felt the arowes lyght among theym and sawe the baners and standerdes wave with the wynde, the which they had nat bene acustomed to se before, than thei reculed backe among their owne men of armes; than thenglysshmen of armes aproched, and dasshed in among their enmys, and slewe and bete downe on every part, for the Frenchmen of armes coulde nother aproche forwarde nor backewarde, for their owne fotemen, who reculed without order, and dyd stoppe them their way; ther wer many slayne and sore hurt. Thenglysshe archers were on bothe sydes the way, and shotte so holly togyder, that none durste approche, nor yssue through theym; so the Frenchmen were put abacke into the subarbes of Bergerath, but it was to suche a myschefe for them, that the first bridge and baylles were wonne by clene force, for thenglysshmen entred with them, and there on the pavement many knyghtes were slayne, and sore hurte, and dyvers prisoners taken of them that adventured theymselfe to defende the passage; and the lorde of Mirpoyse[1] was slayne, under sir Gaultier of Mannes baner, who was the first that entred. Whan therle of Layll[2] sawe that the Englysshmen had wonne the subbarbes, and slayne his men without mercy, he than reculed backe into the towne, and passed the brige with great trouble and danger. Byfore that bridge ther was a sore skirmysshe, the lordes and knyghtes fought hande to hande; the lorde of Manny avaunced hymselfe so ferre among his ennemyes, that he was in great daunger. Thenglysshmen toke ther the vycount of Bousquetyne, the lorde of Newcastell,[3] the lorde of Chastellon, the lorde de Lescu; all other of the Frenchmen entred into the towne, and closed their gates, and lette downe their portcolyse, and

[1] *Mirepoix.*
[2] *Lisle.*
[3] *Castelnau.*

CAP. CIII

Howe the erle of Derby conquered Bergerathe.

than wente to the walles to their defences. This assaut and skirmyssh endured tyll the evenyng; than thenglysshmen withdrue, right sore wery, and entred into the subbarbes, the which they had wonne, where they founde wyne and vitayle, sufficyent for their hole hoost for two monethes. The next mornyng, the erle of Derby caused his trumpettes to be sowned, and set his people in order of batayle, and aproched the towne, and made a sore assaut, the which endured tyll noone; lytell dyd thenglysshmen at that assaut, for they within defended themselfe valyantly; at noone the Englysshmen withdrewe, for they sawe well they dyd but lese their payne. Than the lordes went to counsayle, and determyned to assaut the towne by water, for it was closed but with pales; than therle of Derby sende to the navy at Burdeaux for shyppes, and ther was brought fro Burdeaux to Bergerath, lx. shyppes and barkes. The next day in the evenynge they ordred their batayls; and in the next mornyng, by the son rysinge, the navy was redy to assaut by water: the baron of Stafford was captayne. Thenglysshmen and archers adventured theymselfe valyantly, and came to a great barryer before the pales, the which anone was cast downe to the yerth. Thanne they of the towne came to therle de Laylle,[1] and to the other lordes and knyghtes that wer ther, and sayde, Sirs, take hede what ye woll do, we be in a great jeopardy to be all lost; if this towne be lost we lese all that we have, and our lyves also; yet hit were better that we yelded ourselfe to the erle of Derby, than to have more damage. The erle of Laylle sayd, Go we to the place wher as nedeth moost defence, for we wyll nat as yet yelde uppe the towne; so they went to defende the pales.

[1] *Lisle.*

The archers that were in the barkes, shot so holly togyder that none durst apere at their defence, without they were slayne or sore hurte: there were within a two hundred Genowayes crosbowes, and nere were pavysshed agaynste the shotte; they helde the Englysshe archers well awarke all the day, and many hurt on bothe parties. Finally, the Englysshmen dyd so moche that they brake downe a great pane of the pales; than they within reculed backe, and desyred a treaty and a trewse, the which was graunted to endur all that day and the next nyght, so that they shulde nat fortify

CAP. CIII
Howe the erle of Derby conquered Bergerathe.

in the meane season: so eyther partie drewe to their lodgynges. This nyght the lordes within the towne were in great counsayle, and finally, about mydnight, they trussed bagge and baggage, and departed out of the towne of Bergerath, and toke the waye to the towne of Ryoll,[1] the which was nat ferre fro thens. The next mornynge, the Englysshmen agayne entred into their barkes and came to the same place where they had broken the pales, and ther they founde certayne of the towne, who desyred them that they wolde pray the erle of Derby to take them to mercy, savyng their lyves and goodes, and fro thensforthe they wolde be obeysaunt to the kynge of Englande. The erle of Quenefort,[2] and therle of Penbroke sayde they wolde speke gladly for theym; and so they came to the erle of Derby, and shewed hym thyntent of them of the towne: the erle of Derby sayde, He that mercy desyreth, mercy ought to have; bydde theym opyn their gates, and shewe them they shal be assured of me and all myne. These two lordes went agayne to them of the towne, and shewed them the erle of Derbyes intent; than they assembled all the people toguyder, and sowned their belles and opyned their gates, and yssued out menne and women in processyon, and humbly mette the erle of Derby, and so brought hym into the chiefe churche, and there sware faythe and homage to the erle in the name of the kyng of Englande, by vertue of a procuracyon that the erle hadde.

[1] *La Réole.*

[2] *Oxford.*

CAP. CIIII

Howe the erle of Derby conquered dyverse townes and fortresses in hyghe Gascoyne.

THE same day that therle of Laylle[3] was come to Ryoll fro Bergerate, he and his company devysed to depart themselfe, some into one fortresse, and some into another, and to kepe fronter warre. And the seneshall of Tholouz, the erle of Vyllemure, were sent to Auberoche; sir Bertrame de Presse, to Pellagrewe; the lorde Phylippe of Dyone, to Mountagret; the lorde of Mountbrandone, to Mauldurane; Arnolde of Dyone, to Mountgyse; Robert of Malmore, to Beaumount in Laylloes; sir

[3] *Lisle.*

CAP. CIIII

Howe the erle of Derby conquered dyverse townes and fortresses in hyghe Gascoyne.

Charles of Poyters, to Pennes in Agynoes. Thus these knyghtes wer devyded fro garyson to garyson, and the erle of Laylle taryed in the Ryoll, and newe repayred the fortresse. And whane the erle of Derby had taryed in Bergerath two dayes, he demaunded of the seneshal of Burdeaux what way was best for hym to take, for he sayde, he wolde natte lye styll; the seneshall aunswered, howe he thought it best to drawe to Pyergourt,[1] and into hyghe Almaygne.[2] Than the erle of Derby prepayred to departe, and left captayne in Bergerathe, sir John de la Sante: and as thenglysshmen went forwarde, they came to a castell called Lango, wherof the veigneur[3] of Tholouz was captayn. There thenglysshmen taryed and gave assaut to the castell, bycause they sayde, they wolde natte leave suche a castell behynde theym, but at that assaut the Englysshmen wanne but lytell. The nexte day the assauters brought fagottes, tymber, and other thynges, and fylled so the dykes, that they might go to the walles: than sir Franque de Hall counsayled them within to yelde, for he sayd they might abyde so long, that it shulde be to late: they within desyred respyte to gyve an answere, the which was agreed; and whan they had counsayled, the parties greed; so they departed with their lyves, but they bare away nothynge, and went to Monsacke. Therle of Derby made capitayne at Lango, a squyer called Aymone Lyone, and with hym xxx. archers: than therle rode to a towne called le Lacke, and they of the towne met hym on the way, and brought hym the kayes, and dyd homage to the kyng of Englande. Than therle went forthe, and came to Mandurant, the whiche he wanne with assaut; whan he had sette rulers there, he went to the castell of Mountgyse, and toke it also by assaut, and the captayne he sende as prisonere to Burdeaux; than he rode to Punache, the which also he wanne, and also the castell de la Lewe, and there he taryed thre dayes; the fourth daye he went to Forsathe,[4] and wanne it lightly, and also the towre of Pondayre. Thane he came to a great towne called Beaumount in Laylloyes parteyninge to the inherytaunce of the erle of Laylle: thre dayes the erle of Derby lay there, and made great assautes; the place was well fortifyed with men of warre and artillery, howbeit, finally it was wonne, and

[1] *Perigord.*
[2] mistake for *Gascoyne.*
[3] *Viguier.*
[4] *Fronsac.*

CAP. CIIII

Howe the erle of Derby conquered dyverse townes and fortresses in hyghe Gascoyne.

many of them within slayne. Than therle of Derby set there newe captayns, and men of warre; and fro thense he went to the chiefe towne, parteyninge to the erle of Laylle, wherof the lorde Philyppe of Dyone, and Arnolde of Dyone were capitayns. The Englysshmen approched to the barryers, and the archers shotte so quickely, so that they of the towne durste nat appere at their defence: so the firste day the baylles harde to the gate of the towne was wonne, and in the evenynge the assaut seaced, and every man drewe to their lodgynges. The next mornynge, the assaut began agayne in dyvers places so that they within wyst nat well what to do; thane they desyred to have a peace; than an haraulde was sende to them, and a day respyte to treat, in the meane season. Thane the erle of Derby hymselfe went to the barryers to speke with theym of the towne, and with hym was the baron of Stafforde, and the lorde of Manny; therle wolde they shulde have yelded themselfe simply, but they so agreed, that the towne shuld be under the obeysance of the kyng of Englande and that they shulde sende twelfe of their burgesses into the cytie of Burdeaux for hostage; and the lordes and knightes of Fraunce departed under save conduct, and went to the Ryoll.

CAP. CV

Howe therle of Quenfort[1] was taken in Gascoyne, and delyverd agayn by exchaung.

[1] *Oxford.*

AFTER this conquest, the erle of Derby went to Bonvall, and there made a great assaute, and many hurte on bothe parties; finally, it was takene, and newe refresshed with captaynes, and men of warre. Than therle passed farther into the countie of Pyergourt, and passed by Bordall,[2] without any assaute, and laboured so longe, that at laste he came before Pyergourt.[3] Therle of that countrey was in the towne and the lorde Roger of Pyergourt,[4] his uncle, and the lorde of Duras, with a sixscore knyghtes and squyers of the countrey: the erle of Derby advysed howe he myght best assayle the towne to his advauntage, for he sawe well it was stronge: soo that all thynges

[2] *Bourdeille.*

[3] *Perigueux.*

[4] *Quenfort* P.

CAP. CV

Howe therle of Quenfort was taken in Gascoyne, and delyverd agayn.

consydred, it was thought nat beste to enploy his people there in that jeopardy, and so went and lodged a two leages thense, by a lytell ryver, to the intent to assayle the castelle of Pelagrue:[1] about mydnight yssued out of Pyergourt,[2] a two hundred speares, and are it was day, they came into the lodgynges of thenglysshmen, and slewe and hurte many, and came into the erle of Quenfortes[3] tent, and founde hym armynge: and he was so sharpely assayled, that he was taken prisoner and thre other of his house. Than the Gascoyns went backe or the host were more styrred, and drewe agayne to their towne, as it was nedefull for theym; they founde their gates opyn, for they were hotely pursued and driven home into their barryers. Than the Gascons alyghted and defended their barryers, and fought hande to hande so that they lost nothyng: than thenglysshmen retourned to their hoost. And the erle of Derby went to Pelagrue, and ther was sixe dayes, and made many great assautes; ther was the delyverance made of the erle of Quenfort and his company by exchang, for the vycount of Bouquentyne, the vycount of Chastellone, the lorde of Lescue, and of the lorde of Newcastell,[4] on the condycion that the landes of Pyergourt shulde abyde thre yeres in rest and peace, but the lordes and knyghtes of the countrey might well arme themselfe without any forfette, but nothyng to be robbed and brent within the countrey durynge that space. Thus thenglysshmen departed fro before Pelagrue, for that pertayned to the countie of Pyergourt; than the erle of Derby went to Auberoche, a fayre castell and a stronge, pertayninge to the bysshoppe of Tholouz. Thenglysshmen lodged theymselfe there about as thoughe they were mynded to abyde there a longe space, and dyde sende them worde within, to yelde themselfe, for if they were taken byforce, they were all but deed without mercy; they within hadde great dout of their lyves, and they sawe no socour commynge fro no partie: than they yelded themselfe, and became subgettes to the kyng of England. Than the erle of Derby drewe towarde Burdeaux, and left in garyson in Auberoche, sir Franque de la Halle, and sir Alayne of Fynefroyde, and sir John of Lynedall. Thane in his way he came to a good towne called Lyborne, twelfe leages fro Burdeaux, and layde siege

[1] *Pellegrue.*
[2] *Perigueux.*
[3] *Oxford.*
[4] *Castelnau.*

CAP. CV
Howe therle of Quenfort was taken in Gascoyne.

about it, and sayde, howe he wolde nat depart thense tyll he had it. They within tooke counsayle, so that all thynges consydred, the good and yvell, they yelded them to therle of Derby, and dyd homage, and ther therle taryed a thre dayes, and left the erle of Penbroke, the lorde Stafforde, sir Stephyn of Courcy,[1] and sir Alysander Hausayle,[2] styll in Lyborne; than therle of Derby, the erle of Quenfort,[3] sir Gaultier of Manny, and other, rode streyght to Bourdeaux.

[1] for *Tombey.*
[2] *Aunsel.*
[3] *Oxford.*

CAP. CVI

Howe therle of Layle layde siege before Auberoche.

AT the retournynge of therle of Derby to Bourdeaux, he was joyefully receyved, and mette with processyon, and offeredde hym every thyng in the towne at his pleasure; there he taryed and sported hym with the burgesses, ladyes, and damosels of the towne.

Nowe lette us speke of the erle of Laylle, who was at the Ryoll; whane he understode that the erle of Derby was at Burdeaux, and lay styll, and no lickelyhode that he wolde styrre any farther that season, than he wrote to the erle of Pyergourt, of Carmaynye,[4] of Conynes,[5] and of Breuniquele,[6] and to all the other lordes of Gascoyne of the Frenche partie, that they shulde assemble their men, and come and mete hym before Auberoche, for his mynde was to ley siege therto; they all obeyed hym, for he was as kynge in those parties of Gascoyne. The lordes and knyghtes within Auberoche was nat ware of any siege, tyll it was layd rounde about them, so that none coude yssue out nor entre without parceyvinge. The Frenchemen brought with them four great engyns fro Tholouz, the whiche dyd caste day and night, they made no other assaut; so within sixe dayes, they had broken the roffes of the towres and chambers, that they within durste nat abyde, but in lowe vautes; the intent of them of the host was to slee them all within, or els to have them yelde simply. Therle of Derby had knowledge howe the siege lay before Auberoch, but he knewe nat that his company wer so sore oppressed as they were. Whan sir

[4] *Caraman.*
[5] *Comminges.*
[6] *Bruniquel.*

CAP. CVI

Howe therle of Layle layde siege before Auberoche.

Franque de Hall, sir Aleyne de Fyneforde, and sir John of Lyndall, who were thus besieged within Auberoche, sawe themselfe thus hardly bestadde, they demaunded among their varlets, if their were any, for a good rewarde, wolde bere a letter to therle of Derby to Burdeux. One varlet stepped forthe and sayd, he wold gladly bere it, nat for the advauntage of his rewarde but rather to helpe to delyver them out of daunger. In the nyght, the varlette toke the letter, sealed with their seales, and thanne went downe the dykes, and so past through the hoost: there was none other remedy. He was met with the firste watche, and past by them, for he spake good Gascoyne, and named a lorde of the hoost, and sayd he parteyned to hym, but than agayn he was taken among the tentes, and so brought into the herte of the hoost; he was sherched, and the letter founde on hym, and soo he was kepte save tyll the mornynge, that the lordes were assembled togyder. Than the letter was brought to therle of Layle; they had great joye, whanne they parceyved that they within were so sore constrayned, that they coude nat long endure: than they toke the varlet, and hanged the letter about his necke, and dyd put hym into an engyn and dyde cast hym into the towne: the varlette fell downe deed, wherwith they within were sore troubled. The same season, therle of Pyergourt, and his uncle sir Charles of Poyters and the vycount of Carmany and the lorde of Duras, were a horsbacke and passed by the walles of the towne as nere as they might, and cryed to them within, and sayd in mockery, Sirs, demaunde of your messanger where he founde therle of Derby, syth he went out but this nyght, and is retourned agayne so shortly. Than sir Franque de Hall sayde, Sirs, though we be here inclosed, we shall yssue out whan it shall please God, and the erle of Derby: as wolde to God he knewe in what case we be in, for and he knewe it there is none of you that durste kepe the felde, and if ye wolde sende hym worde therof, one of us shall yelde hymselfe prisoner to you, to be raunsomed as a gentylman ought to be. The Frenchmen answered Nay, nay, sirs, the mater shall nat go so, the erle of Derby shall knowe it well ynough, whan with our engyns we have beaten downe the castell to the yerthe, and that ye have yelded up

CAP. CVI
Howe therle of Layle layde siege before Auberoche.

simply for savyng of your lyves. Certaynly, quod sir Franque, we shall nat yelde ourselfe so, we woll rather dye here within. So the Frenchmen retourned agayne to their hoost, and the thre Englysshe knyghtes were sore abasshed, for the stones that fell in the towne gave so sore strokes that it semed lyke thondre falled fro hevyn.

CAP. CVII

Howe therle of Derby toke before Auberoch therle of Layle and dyvers other erles and vycountes to the nombre of ix.

ALL the mater of taking of this messanger with the letter and necessytie of them within Auberoch, was shewed to the erle of Derby by a spye that had been in the Frenche hoost. Than therle of Derby sent to the erle of Penbroke, beyng at Bergerath, to mete with hym at a certayne place; also he sende for the lorde Stafforde and to sir Stephyn Tombey, beyng at Lyborne; and the erle hymselfe, with sir Gaultier of Manny and his company, rode towardes Auberoche, and rode so secretely with suche guydes as knewe the contrey, that therle came to Lyborne and there taryed a day, abydinge the erle of Penbroke; and whan he sawe that he came nat, he went forth for the great desyre that he had to ayde them in Auberoch. Thus therle of Derby, therle of Quenforde, sir Gaultier of Manny, sir Rychard Hastynges, sir Stephyn Tombey, the lorde Feryers and the other yssued out of Lyborne, and rode all the night, and in the mornyng they wer within two lytell leages of Auberoche. They entred into a woode and lyghted fro their horses and tyed their horses to pasture, abydinge for the erle of Penbroke, and there taryed tyll it was noone: they wyste nat well than what to do, bycause they were but thre hundred speres and sixe hundred archers, and the Frenchmen before Auberoch were a x. or xii. thousande men; yet they thought it a great shame to lese their companyons in Auberoche. Finally sir Gaultier of Manny sayde, Sirs, lette us leape on our horses,

CAP. CVII

Howe therle of Derby toke before Auberoch therle of Layle and dyvers other erles and vycountes.

and let us coost under the covert of this woode, tyll we be on the same syde that joyneth to their hoost, and whan we be nere, put the spurres to the horses, and crye our cryes: we shall entre whyle they be at supper and unware of us: ye shall se them be so dysconfited, that they shall kepe none aray. All the lordes and knightes agreed to his sayeng: than every man toke his horse, and ordayned all their pages and baggage to abyde styll ther as they were; so they rode styll along by the wode, and came to a lytell ryver in a vale nere to the French host. Than they displayed their baners and penons and dasshed their spurres to their horses, and came in a fronte into the Frenche hoost among the Gascoyns, who were nothyng ware of that busshment: they were goynge to supper, and some redy sette at their meate: thenglysshmen cryed A Derby, a Derby, and overthrewe tentes and pavylions, and slewe and hurte many. The Frenchmen wyst nat what to do, they were so hasted: when they came into the felde and assembled togyder, they founde the Englysshe archers ther redy to receyve theym, who shotte so feersly, that they slewe man and horse, and hurte many. Therle of Layll[1] was taken prisoner in his owne tent, and sore hurte; and the erle of Pyergourt[2] and sir Roger his uncle in their tentes; and ther was slayne the lorde of Duras [and] sir Aymer of Poycters, and therle of Valentenoys his brother was taken: every man fledde that myght best; but therle of Conynes,[3] the vycount of Carmayne, and of Villemur, and of Brunquell, and the lorde de la Borde, and of Taryde and other that were loged on the other syde of the castell, drewe backe and wente into the feldes with their baners. Thenglysshmen who had overcome all the other, dasshed in feersly among them: ther was many a proper feat of armes done, many taken and rescued agayne. Whan they within the castell harde that noyse without, and sawe thenglysshe baners and penons, incontynent they armed them and yssued out, and russhed into the thyckest of the preace: they gretly refresshed the Englysshmen that had fought ther before. Wherto shulde I make long processe? All tho of therle of Laylles partie were nygh all taken or slayne: yf the night had nat come on, ther had but fewe scapedde: ther were taken that day, what erles and vycountes to the nombre of ix.,

[1] *Lisle.*
[2] *Perigord.*
[3] *Comminges.*

CAP. CVII
Howe therle of Derby toke before Auberoch therle of Layle and dyvers other erles and vycountes.

and of lordes, knyghtes, and squyers taken, so that ther was no Englysshman of armes but that had ii. or iii. prisoners. This batell was on saynt Larans nyght, the yere of our lorde M.CCC.xl. and foure; thenglysshmen delt lyke good companyons with their prisoners, and suffred many to depart on their othe and promyse to retourne agayne at a certayne day to Bergerath or to Burdeaux. Than the Englysshmen entred into Auberoche, and ther the erle of Derby gave a supper to the moost part of the erles and vycountes prisoners, and to many of the knyghtes and squyers. Thenglysshmen gave laude to God, in that that a thousande of them had overcome x. M. of their ennemyes and had rescued the towne of Auberoche, and saved their companyons that were within, who by all lickelyhod shulde have ben taken within ii. dayes after. The next day anone upon sonne rysing, thyder came therle of Penbroke, with his company, a thre hundred speres and a foure thousande archers; thane he sayd to therle of Derby, Certaynly cosyn, ye have done me great uncourtesy, to fight with our ennemyes without me, seyng that ye sent for me, ye might have ben sure I wolde nat fayle to come. Fayr cosyn, quoth therle of Derby, we desyred gretly to have had you with us: we taryed all day tyll it was ferr past noone, and whan we sawe that ye came nat, we durst nat abyde no lenger; for if our ennemyes had knowen of our commyng, they had ben in a great advantage over us, and nowe we have the advauntage of them: I pray you be content, and helpe to gyde us to Burdeaux. So they taryed all that day and the nexte nyght in Auberoche; and the next day betymes they departed, and left captayne in Auberoche a knight of Gascoyne, called Alysander of Chamont; thus they rode to Burdeaux, and ledde with them the moost part of their prisoners.

CAP. CVIII

Of the townes that therle of Derby wanne in Gascoyne goyng towarde the Ryoll.

THEY of Burdeux wyst nat what joye to make, nor how to receyve therle of Derby and sir Gaultier of Manny for the takyng of the erle of Laylle, and mo than two hundred knyghtes with hym. So thus passed that wynter without any more doynge in Gascoyne that ought to be remembred. And whan it was past Eester, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.xlv. in the myddes of May, therle of Derby, who had layne all that wynter at Burdeaux, made a great assemble of men of armes and archers to the entent to go and lay siege to the Ryoll; the first day, fro Burdeux, he rode to Bergerath, wher he founde therle of Penbroke, who had in likewyse made his assembly. Ther they taryed thre dayes, and than departed and nombred their company, and founde howe they were M. men of armes, and two M. archers: than they rode so longe, tyll they came to saynt Basyll and layd siege therto: they within consydred howe the greattest men, and moost part of Gascoyne, were prisoners, and sawe howe they shulde have no socoure fro no parte: so all thynges consydred they yelded themselfe, and dyd homage to the kyng of England. Than therle passed forthe and toke they way to Aguyllone; and in his way, he founde the castell of Rochemyllone the whiche was well furnysshed with soudyers and artyllary; howbeit, therle of Derby commaunded to gyve assaut, and so ther was a ferse assaut. They within cast out great barres of yron and pottes with lyme, wherwith they hurt dyvers Englysshmen, suche as adventured themselfe to farr; whan therle sawe his men hurt and coude do nothyng, he withdrue the assaut. The next day he made the vyllayns of the countrey to bring thyder fagottes, busshes, donge, strawe, and erth, and fylled part of the dykes, so that they might go to the walles; and so they made CCC. archers redy, and CC. men of the countrey to go before them with pavysshes, and havyng great pycaxes of yron, and whyle they dyd

CAP. CVIII

Of the townes that therle of Derby wanne in Gascoyne.

undermyne the wall, the archers shuld shote: and so they dyde, that none within durste apere at their defence. This assaut endured the moste part of the day, so that finally, the myners made a great hole through the wall, so that ten men myght entre a front: thanne they within were sore abasshed, some fledde into the church, and somme stale away by a prive gate. So this towne and castell was taken, robbed, and the moost parte slayne, except suche as were fledde into the church, the which therle of Derby caused to be saved, for they yelded themself simply. Than therle sette there newe captayns, two Englysshe squyers, Rycharde Wylle,[1] and Robert Lescot:[2] than therle went to Mountsegure, and layd siege therto and taryed ther a fyftene dayes; captayne within was sir Hewe Bastefoll. And every day there was assaut, and great engyns were brought thyder fro Burdeaux, and fro Bergerath, so that the stones that they cast brake downe walles, roffes, and houses. Therle of Derby sende to them of the towne, shewyng them that if they were taken by force, they shulde all dye; and if they wolde come under they obeysance of the kynge of Englande, he wolde pardon them all and take them for his frendes. They of the towne wolde gladly have yelded theym, and went and spake with their captayne in maner of counsayle, to se what he wolde say: and he answered theym, and sayd, Sirs, kepe your defence, we ar able to kepe this towne this halfe yere, if nede be. They departed fro hym in semyng well content, but at nyght they toke and putte hym in prison, sayeng, howe he shuld never go out therof, without so be he wold agre to make their peace with therle of Derby; and whan that he had sworne that he wolde do his devoyre, they let hym out of prison, and so he went to the barryers of the towne, and made token to speke with the erle of Derby; sir Gaultier of Manny was ther present, and he went and spake with him. The knight sayd, Sir Gaultier of Manny, ye ought natte to have marveyle, though we close our gates agaynst you, for we have sworne fealtie to the Frenche kyng, and I se well that ther is no persone in his behalfe, that wyll stoppe you of your way, but methynke ye are lyke to go farther; but sir, for myselfe, and for the menne of the towne, I desyre you that we may abyde in

[1] *Welles.*
[2] *Scot.*

composicyon, that ye make us no warr, nor we to you the space of a moneth; and duryng that terme, if the Frenche kyng or the duke of Normandy, come into this contrey so strong as to fyght with you, than we to be quyte of our covenaunt; and if they come nat, or one of them, than we shall put us under ye obeysance of the kyng of England. Sir Gaultier of Manny went to therle of Derby, to knowe his pleasure in that behalfe; therle was content, so that they within shuld make no fortifycation in that season; and also, that if any of thenglysshmen ther lacked any vitayls, that they might have it of them for their money; to this they were content, and sent xii. burgesses of the towne to Burdeaux in hostage: than thenglysshmen were refresshed with provisyon of the towne, but none of them entred. Than they passed forth and wasted and exyled the contrey, the which was plesant and frutefull, and came to a castell called Aguyllon; and the captayne therof came to therle and yelded up the castell, their lyves and goodes saved; wherof they of the contrey had gret marveyle, for it was named one of the strongest castels of the worlde; and whan the captayne that had yelded up the castell so soone came to Tholouz, the which was xvii. leages thense, they of that towne toke hym, and layd treason to his charge, and hanged hym up. The sayd castell stode bytwene two great ryvers able to bere shyppes; the erle of Derby newe repeyred the castell and made captayne ther sir John of Gombray:[1] thane the erle went to another castell called Segart, the whiche he toke by assaut, and all the soudyours within slayne; and fro thense he went to the towne of le Ryoll.

CAP. CVIII
Of the townes that therle of Derby wanne in Gascoyne.

[1] *John de Montgomery.*

CAP. CIX

Howe therle of Derby layd siege to the Ryoll, and howe that the towne was yelded to hym.

THUS the erle of Derby came before the Ryoll, and layed siege therto on all sydes, and made bastydes in the feldes and on the wayes, so that no provisyon coulde entre into the towne, and nyghe every day ther was assaut; the siege endured a longe space. And whan the

CAP. CIX
Howe therle of Derby layd siege to the Ryoll.

moneth was expyred that they of Segur[1] shulde gyve up their towne, the erle sent thyder, and they of the towne gave up and became under the obeysaunce of the kynge of Englande; the captayne, sir Hewe Bastefoll, became servant to the erle, with other that were within, upon certayne wages that they hadde. Thenglysshmen that had lyen longe before the Ryoll, more than nyne wekes, had made in the meane space, two belfroys of great tymbre, with iii. stages, every belfroy on four great whelys, and the sydes towardes the towne were covered with cure boly to defende them fro fyre and fro shotte; and into every stage, ther were poynted C. archers. By strength of men these two belfroyes were brought to the walles of the towne, for they had so fylled the dykes that they myght well be brought just to the walles; the archers in these stages shotte so holly togyder, that none durst apere at their defence, without they were well pavysshed; and bytwene these two belfroys, there were a CC. men with pycaxes, to myne the walles, and so they brake through the walles. Thane the burgesses of the towne came to one of the gates, to speke with some lorde of the hoost; whan the erle of Derby knewe therof, he sent to them sir Gaultier of Manny and the baron of Stafforde; and whan they came ther, they founde that they of the towne wolde yelde them, their lyves and goodes saved. [When] sir Agous de Baus, who was captayne within, knewe that the people of the towne wolde yelde up, he went into the castell with his company of soudyers, and whyle they of the towne were entretyng, he conveyed out of the towne, gret quantyte of wyne and other provisyon, and than closed the castell gates, and sayd, howe he wolde nat yelde up so sone. The foresayd two lordes retourned to therle of Derby, shewyng hym howe they of the towne wolde yelde themself and the towne, their lyves and goodes saved. Thane therle sende to knowe howe the captayne wolde do with the castell, and it was brought worde agayne to hym, howe he wolde nat yelde. Than therle studyed a lytell, and sayde Well, go take them of the towne to mercy, for by the towne we shall have the castell. Thane these lordes went agayne to them of the towne and receyved them to mercy, so that they shulde go out into the felde, and

[1] *Montségur.*

delyver therle of Derby the kayes of the towne, sayenge, Sir, fro hensforth we knowlege ourselfe subgettes, and obeysaunt to the king of Englande; and so they dyd, and sware that they shulde gyve no comforte to them of the castell, but to greve them to the best of their powers: than therle commaunded that no man shulde do any hurt to the towne of Ryoll nor to none of them within. Than therle entred into the towne and layd siege rounde about the castell, as nere as he might, and rered up all his engyns, the which caste nyght and day agaynst the walles, but they dyde lytell hurt, the walles were so stronge of harde stone; it was sayd that of olde tyme it had ben wrought by the handes of the Sarasyns, who made ther warkes so strongely, that ther is none such nowe a dayes. Whan the erle sawe that he coulde do no good with his engyns, he caused theym to cease: than he called to hym his myners, to thyntent that they shuld make a myne under all the walles, the whiche was nat sone made.

CAP. CIX
Howe therle of Derby layd siege to the Ryoll.

CAP. CX

Howe sir Water of Manny founde in the towne of the Ryoll the sepulcre of his father.

WHYLE this siege endured and that the myners were aworke, the lorde Gaultier of Manny remembred how that his fader was slayne goynge a pylgrimage to saint James, and howe he harde in his youth howe he shulde be buryed in the Ryoll or there about. Thane he made it to be enquered in the towne, yf there were any manne coude shewe hym his fathers tombe, he shulde have a hundred crownes for his labour: and there was an aged man came to sir Gaultier, and sayd, Sir, I thynke I canne brynge you nere to the place wher your father was buryed; thanne the lorde of Manne sayde, If your wordes be trewe, I shall kepe covenaunt, and more.

Nowe ye shall here the maner howe the lorde Gaultiers father was slayne. It was trewe, that somtyme there was a bysshoppe in Cambresis, a Gascoyne borne of the house of Myrpoyse:[1] and so it fortuned that in his dayes, ther was at a tyme a great tournayeng before Cambrey, wher as there

[1] *Mirepoix.*

CAP. CX

Howe sir Water of Manny founde the sepulcre of his father.

were v. C. knyghtes on both parties. And ther was a knyght Gascoyne tourneyed with the lorde of Manny, father to sir Gaultier, and this knyght of Gascoyne was so sore hurt and beaten, that he had never helth after, but dyed: this knyght was of kynne to the sayde bysshoppe; wherfore the lorde of Manny was in his indygnacion, and of all his lynage. A two or thre yere after certayne good men laboured to make peace bytwene them, and so they dyd: and for amendes the lorde of Manny was bounde to go a pylgrimage to saynt James. And so he went thyder warde: and as he came foreby the towne of Ryoll, the same season therle Charles of Valoyes, brother to kynge Philyppe, lay at siege before the Ryoll, the whiche as than was Englysshe, and dyvers other townes and cyties, than pertayning to the kynge of Englande, father to the kynge that layed siege to Tourney: so that the lorde of Manny, after the retournyng of his pylgrimage, he came to se therle of Valoys, who was ther as kyng. And as the lorde of Manny went at night to his lodgyng, he was watched by the way, by certayne of them of the lynage of hym that the lorde of Manny had made his pylgrimage for; and so without therles lodgyng he was slayne and murdred, and no man knewe who dyd it; howebeit, they of that lynage were helde suspect in the mater, but they were so stronge and made such excuses, that the mater past, for ther was none that wold pursue the lorde of Mannes quarell. Than therle of Valoyes caused hym to be buryed in a lytell chapell in the felde, the which as than was without the towne of Ryoll: and whan therle of Valoyes had wonne the towne, than the walles were made more larger, so that the chapell was within the towne.

Thus was sir Gaultier of Mannes fader slayne, and this olde man remembred all this mater, for he was present whan he was buryed. Thane sir Gaultier of Manny went with this gode aged man, to the place wher as his father was buryed, and ther they founde a lytell tombe of marble over hym, the which his servauntes layd on hym after he was buryed. Thane the olde man sayde, Sir, surely under this tombe lyeth your father; than the lorde of Manny redde the scripture on the tombe, the whiche was in latyn, and ther he founde that the olde man had sayd trouth, and gave hym

his rewarde. And within two dayes after he made the tombe to be raysed, and the bones of his father to be taken up and put in a cofer, and after dyd sende them to Valencennes in the county of Heynalt, and in the freres ther, made theym to be buryed agayne honourably, and dyde there his obsequy ryght goodly, the which is yet kept yerely.

CAP. CX
How sir Water of Manny founde the sepulcre of his father.

CAP. CXI

Howe the erle of Derby wanne the castell of the Ryoll.

NOWE let us retourne to the siege about the castell of the Ryoll, the which had endured xi. wekes: so long wrought the mynours, that at last they came under the base court, but under the dongeon they coude nat gette, for it stode on a harde rocke. Than sir Agous des Baus their capten, sayd to his company, Sirs, we be undermyned, so that we ar in great daunger. Than they were all sore afrayed, and sayd, Sir, ye ar in a great danger, and we also, without ye fynde some remedy; ye ar our chefe, and we wyll obey you truely. We have kept this house right honourably a longe season, and though we nowe make a composycion, we can nat be blamed: assay if ye canne get graunt of therle of Derby to let us depart, our lyves and goodes saved, and we to delyver to hym this castell. Than sir Agous dyscendedde downe fro the hygh towre, and dyd put out his heed at a lytell wyndo, and make a token to speke with some of the host; than he was demaunded what he wolde have· he sayd he wolde fayne speke with therle of Derby, or with the lorde of Manny. Whan therle knewe therof, he sayd to the lorde of Manny and the lorde Stafforde, Lette us go to the fortresse, and knowe what the capten woll say. Than they rode togyder, and whan sir Agous sawe theym, he toke of his cappe and saluted them eche after other, and sayde, Lordes, it is of trouth that the Frenche kyng sende me to this towne, to defende and to kepe it, and the castell, to my power; and ye knowe right well howe I have aquyt myselfe in that behalfe, and yet wolde if I might, but alwayes a man may nat abyde in one

CAP. CXI
Howe the erle of Derby wanne the castell of the Ryoll.

place: sir, yf it woll please you, I and all my company wolde depart, our lyves and goodes saved, and we shall yelde unto you the fortresse. Than therle of Derby sayde, Sir Agous, ye shall nat go so away; we knowe ryght well we have so sore oppressed you, that we may have you whan we lyst, for your fortresse standeth but upon stayes: yelde you simply, and we wyll recyve you. Sir Agous sayde, Sir, If we dyde so, I thynke in you so moch honour and gentylnes, that ye wold deale but courtesly with us, as ye wold the Frenche kynge shulde deale with any of your knyghtes; for Goddes-sake sir, blemyssh nat your noblenesse for a poore sort of soudyours that be here within, who hath won with moche payne and paryll their poore lyveng, whome I have brought hyther out of the provynce of Savoy, and out of Daulphyne; sir, knowe for trouthe, that yf the lest of us shulde nat come to mercy, as well as the best, we woll rather sell our lyves, in suche wyse that all the worlde shulde speke of us: sir, we desyre you to bere us some company of armes, and we shall pray for you. Than therle and the other two lordes went aparte and spake togyder. They spake long togyder of dyvers thynges; finally, they regarded the trouthe of sir Agous, and consydred howe he was a stranger, and also they sawe that they coude nat undermyne the dongeon, they agreed to receyve them to mercy. Than the erle sayde to sir Agous, Sir, we wolde gladly to all straungers bere good company of armes; I am content that ye and all your company depart with your lyves saved, so that you bere away nothynge but your armoure. So be it, quod sir Agous. Than he went to his company, and shewed them how he had spedde. Than they dyd on their harnesse and toke their horses, wherof they hadde no mo but sixe; some bought horses of thenglysshmen, the whiche they payed for truely. Thus sir Agous de Baus departed fro the Ryoll, and yelded up the castell to the Englysshemen, and sir Agous and his company wente to Tholous.

CAP. CXII

How therle of Derby toke the towne of Mauleon, and after the towne of Franch[1] in Gascoyne.

[1] *Villefranche.*

WHAN the erle of Derby had taken his pleasure at Ryoll, than he went forth and left an Englyssh knyght at Ryoll, to repayre and amende that was broken; and he rode to Mountpesance,[2] and made assaut there: and within there were but men of the countrey that were gone thyder with their goodes, in trust of the strength of the place; and so they defended theymselfe as longe as they might; but finally, the castell was wone with assaut, and by scalynge. But there were many of thenglysshe archers slayne, and an Englysshe gentylman slayne called Rycharde Pennevort, he bare the lorde Staffordes baner. Therle of Derby gave the same castell to a squyer of his, called Thomas of Lancastre and left with hym in garyson xx. archers: than therle went to the towne of Mauleon,[3] and made assaut, but he wanne it nat so; at nyght there about they lodged. The nexte day a knyght of Gascone, called sir Alysander of Chamont, sayd to therle, Sir, make as though ye wolde dyslodge and go to some other part and leve a small sort of your people styll before the towne, and they within woll yssue out, I knowe theym so well, and let them chase your men that be behynde, and let us lye under the olyves in a busshement, and whan they be past us, lette part of us folowe them, and some retourne towardes the towne. Therle of Derby was content with that counsayle, and he caused to abyde behynde the erle of Quenforde,[4] with a hundred with hym all onely, well enformed what they shulde do: than all the other trussed bagge and baggage and departed, and went halfe a leage, and ther layd sir Gaultier of Manny with a great busshment, in a vale amonge olyves and vynes, and therle rode on forth. Whan they of Mauleon sawe the erle departe and some styll abydinge behynde, they sayde among themselfe, Let us go yssue out, and go and fyght with our ennemyes, that ar abydinge behynde their maister: we shall soone dysconfet them, the whiche

[2] *Montpezat.*

[3] *Castelmoron.*

[4] *Oxford.*

CAP. CXII
How therle of Derby toke the towne of Mauleon.

shall be a great honoure and profette to us; they all agreed to that opynion, and armed them quickely and yssued out who myght first; they were a foure hundred. Whan therle of Quenfort and his company sawe them yssue, they reculed backe, and the Frenchemen folowed after in gret hast, and so ferr they pursued them that they past the busshment. Than sir Gaultier of Mannyes company yssued out of their busshment, and cryed Manny, and part of them dasshed in after the Frenchmen, and another part toke the way streyght to the towne: they founde the baylles and gates opyn and it was nyght; wherfore they within wende it had ben their owne company, that yssued out before. Than thenglysshmen toke the gate and the brige and incontynent were lordes of the towne, for suche of the towne as were yssued out, were inclosed bothe before and behynde, so that they were all taken and slayne; and suche as were in the towne dyde yelde them to therle of Derby, who receyved them to mercy, and of his gentylnes respyted the towne fro brennyng and robbynge, and dyde gyve that hole seignorie to sir Alysaunder of Chamount, by whose advyce the towne was won; and sir Alysaunder made a brother of his captayne ther, called Antony of Chamont; and therle left with hym certayne archers and other with pavysshes. Than therle departed and came to Wyelfranche[1] in Angenoys, the which was won by assaut and the castell also; and he lefte there for captayne a squyer of his, called Thomas Coq.[2] Thus therle rode all about the contrey and no man resysted hym, and conquered townes and castelles, and his men wanne ryches mervayle to esteme.

[1] *Villefranche.*

[2] *Cook.*

CAP. CXIII

Howe therle of Derby wanne the cytie of Angolesme.

WHAN the erle of Derby had this towne at his pleasure thane he rode to Myremont, drawyng towardes Burdeux, for all this journey his currours never aproched to port saynt Mary. Therle was thre dayes before Myremont, and on the fourth day they yelded: therle gave it to a squier of his, called John

CAP. CXIII

Howe therle of Derby wanne the cytie of Angolesme.

Bristowe: and after, his men wan a lytell towne closed, standyng on the ryver of Gerone, called Thomynes;[1] and after, the stronge castell of Damassene,[2] the whiche they well garnysshed with men of armes and archers. Than they came before the cytie of Angolesme and layd siege therto, and therle sayde, he wolde nat depart thense tyll he had it at his pleasure. Thane they within made apoyntment with the erle, to sende xxiiii. of their chiefe burgesses to Burdeux, in hostage for the respyte of a peace for a moneth; and if within that space the Frenche kynge do sende a suffycient persone to kepe the felde agaynst therle of Derby, than they to have agayne their hostages, and to be quyte of their bonde; and yf nat, than they to put theym under the obeysaunce of the kynge of Englande. This done, thane the erle rode to Blames,[3] and layed siege therto: within were two captayns of Poyctou, sir Guysshart Dangle, and sir Wyllyam de Rochchouart, and they sayde, they wolde yelde to no manne. And whyle this siege endured, some of the Englysshemen rode to Mortayne in Poyctou, where as sir Boucyquaut was captayne, and made there a great assaut, but it avayled nat, but dyvers of them were hurt and slayne: and so departed thens, and went to Myrebell, and to Alney; and after came agayne to the siege of Blames: every day there was some feate of armes done. The terme of the moneth expyred that they of Angolesme shulde yelde, the erle of Derby sent thyder his two marshals, to whome they of the cytie sware homage and fealtie, in the behalfe of the kyng of Englande: and so they were in peace, and had agayne restored their hostages: and the erle sent thyder, at their desyers, John of Norwyche, to be their captayne. Styll the siege endured before Blasmes, so that thenglysshmen were halfe wery, for wynter approched and there they coulde wynne nothynge: than they determyned to go to Bourdeaux tyll another season; and so they dyslodged and went over Gerande, and so to Burdeaux, and than departed his people into dyvers garysons, to kepe fronter warre.

[1] *Tonneins.*
[2] *Damazan.*
[3] *Blaye.*

CAP. CXIIII

Howe sir Godfray Harecourt was banysshed out of Fraunce.

IN this season sir Godfray of Harecourt fell in the indygnation of the Frenche kynge, who was a great baron in Normandy and brother to therle of Harecourt, lorde of saynt Savyour the vycount and dyvers other townes in Normandy; and it was sayde all was but for envy, for a lytell before he was as great with the kyng and with the duke of Normandy, as he wolde desyre, but he was as than openly banysshed the realm of Fraunce; and yf the kynge coulde have gette hym in his yre, he wolde have served hym, as he dyd sir Olyver of Clyssone, who was beheeded the yere before at Parys. This sir Godfray had some frendes, who gave hym warnyng secretly howe the kyng was dyspleased with hym; than he avoyded the realme assone as he myght, and went into Brabant to the duke there, who was his cosyn, who receyved him joyfully. And ther he taryed a longe space and lyved of suche revenewes as he had in Brabant, for out of Fraunce he coude gette nothynge: the kyng had seaced all his landes there of Constantyne,[1] and tooke the profet therof hymselfe: the duke of Brabant coude in no wyse gette agayne this knyght into the kynges favoure, for nothynge that he coude do. This dyspleasure cost greatly the realme of Fraunce after, and specially the contrey of Normandy, for the tokens therof remayned a hundred yere after, as ye shall here in this hystorie.

[1] *Cotentin.*

CAP. CXV

Of the dethe of Jaques Dartvell of Gaunt.

IN this season raygned in Flaunders in great prosperyte and puysaunce, Jaques Dartvell of Gaunt, who was as great with the kyng of Englande as he wolde desyre: and he had promysed the kyng to make hym lorde and herytour of Flaunders, and to endewe his sonne the prince

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of Wales therwith, and to make the countie of Flaunders a dukedome. For the which cause, about the feest of saynt John Babtyst the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC.xlvi. the kynge of Englande was come to Sluse with many lordes and knyghtes, and had brought thyder with hym the yonge prince his sonne, on the trust of the promyse of Jaques Dartvell. The kyng with all his navy lay in the havyn of Sluse, and there he kept his house, and thyder came to vysette hym his frendes of Flaunders. Ther were great counsaylles bytwene the kyng and Jaques Dartvell on the one partie, and the counsayls of the good townes of Flaunders on the other partie; so that they of the countrey were nat of the agrement with the kyng, nor with Jaques Dartvell, who preched to theym that they shulde disheryte the erle Loyes their owne naturall lorde, and also his yong sonne Loyes, and to enheryte the sonne of the kynge of Englande, the which thynge they sayd suerly they wolde never agre unto. And so the laste day of their counsayll, the whiche was kept in the havyn of Sluse, in the kynges great shyppe, called the Katheryne, there they gave a fynall answere by common acorde, and sayde, Sir, ye have desyred us to a thynge that is great and weyghtie, the which herafter may sore touche the countrey of Flaunders, and our heyres: trewely we knowe nat at this day no persone in the worlde, that we love the preferment of so moche as we do yours; but sir, this thynge we can nat do alone, without that all the commynaltie of Flaunders acorde to the same; sir, we shall goo home, and every man speke with his company generally in every towne, and as the moost parte agre, we shal be content; and within a moneth we shall be here with you agayne, and thane gyve you a full answere, so that ye shal be content. The kyng nor Jaques Dartvell coude as than have none other answere; they wolde fayne have had a short day, but it wolde nat be. So thus departed that counsayle, and every man went home to their owne townes. Jaques Dartvell taryed a lytell season with the kyng, and styll he promysed the kyng to bring them to his entent: but he was disceyved, for assone as he came to Gaunt, he went no more out agayne, for suche of Gaunt as had ben at Sluse at the counsayle there, whan they were

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retourned to Gaunt, or Jaques Dartvell was come into the towne, great and small they assembled in the market place: and ther it was openly shewed what request the kynge of Englande had made to them, by the settyng on of Jaques Dartvell. Than every man began to murmure agaynst Jaques, for that request pleased them nothynge, and sayde that by the grace of God there shulde no suche untrouthe be founde in them, as willingly to disheryte their naturall lorde and his yssue, to enheryte a stranger; and so they all departed fro the market place, nat content with Jaques Dartvell.

Nowe beholde and se what fortune fell: if he had ben as welcome to Gaunt as he was to Bruges and Ipre, they wolde agreed to his opinyon as they dyde, but he trusted so moche in his prosperyte and greatnesse, that he thought soone to reduce them to his pleasure. Whan he retourned, he came into Gaunt, about noone; they of the towne knewe of his commyng, and many were assembled toguyder in the strete where as he shulde passe, and whane they sawe hym, they began to murmure, and began to ron togyder thre heedes in one hood and sayde, Beholde yonder great maister, who woll order all Flaunders after his pleasure, the whiche is nat to be suffred. Also their were wordes sowen through all the towne, howe Jaques Dartvell had ix. yere assembled all the revenewes of Flaunders, without any count gyven, and therby hath kept his estate; and also send great rychesse out of the countrey into Englande secretly. These wordes set them of Gaunt on fyre; and as he rode through the strete, he parceyved that ther was some newe mater agaynst hym, for he sawe suche as were wonte to make reverence to hym as he came by, he sawe theym tourne their backes towarde hym and entre into their houses. Than he began to doute; and assone as he was alyghted in his lodgyng, he closed fast his gates, doores and wyndose: this was skante done, but all the strete was full of men, and specially of them of the small craftes: ther they assayled his house bothe behynde and before, and the house broken up; he and his within the house defended themselfe a longe space, and slewe and hurt many without; but finally he coude nat endure, for thre partes of the men of the towne

were at that assaut. Whan Jaques sawe that he was so sore oppressed, he came to a wyndowe with gret humylite bare heeded, and sayd with fayre langage, Good people what ayleth you, why be you so sore troubled agaynst me: in what maner have I dyspleased you, shewe me, and I shall make you amendes at your pleasures. Than suche as harde hym answered all with one voyce, We woll have acompt made of the great tresure of Flaunders, that ye have sende out of the way, without any tytell of reason. Than Jaques answered mekely and sayde, Certaynely sirs, of the tresoure of Flaunders I never toke nothynge; withdrawe yourselfys paciently into your houses and come agayne to morowe in the mornynge, and I shall make you so good accompt, that of reason ye shal be content. Thane all they answered and sayd, Nay, we woll have acompt made incontynent; ye shall nat scape us so, we knowe for trouthe, that ye have sende great rychesse into Englande, without our knowledge; wherfore ye shall dye. Whane he harde that worde, he joyned his handes togyder, and sore wepyng sayd, Sirs, suche as I am ye have made me, and ye have sworne to me or this to defende me agaynst all persons, and nowe ye wolde slee me without reason. Ye may do it and ye woll, for I am but one man among you all; for Goddessake take better advyce, and remembre the tyme past, and consyder the great graces and curtesyes that I have done to you, ye wold nowe rendre to me a small rewarde for the great goodnesse that I have done to you, and to your towne in tyme past. Ye knowe ryght well marchauntdyse was nighe lost in all this countrey, and by my meanes it is recovered; also I have governed you in great peace and rest, for in the tyme of my governyng, ye have had all thynges as ye wolde wysshe, corne, rychesse, and all other marchaundyse. Than they all cryed with one voyce, Come downe to us, and prech nat so hyghe, and gyve us acompt of the great treasoure of Flaunders, that ye have governed so long without any acompt makynge, the whiche parteyneth nat to an offycer to do, as to receyve the goodes of his lorde or of a contrey without acompt. Whan Jaques sawe that he coude nat apease theym, he drewe in his heed, and closed his wyndowe, and so thought to steale oute on the backesyde into a

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churche that joyned to his house, but his house was so broken that iiii. hundred persons were entred into his house; and finally there he was taken and slayne without mercy, and one Thomas Denyce gave hym his dethe stroke. Thus Jaques Dartvell endedde his dayes, who had ben a great maister in Flanders: poore men first mounteth up, and unhappy men sleeth them at the ende. These tidynges anone spredde abrode the countrey: some were sorie therof and some were gladde.

In this season therle Loyes of Flaunders was at Teremounde, and he was ryght joyouse whan he harde of the dethe of Jaques Dartvell, his olde ennemy; howbeit yet he durst nat trust them of Flaunders, nor go to Gaunt. Whan the kyng of Englande, who lay all this season at Sluse, abyding the answere of the Flemmynges, harde howe they of Gaunt had slayne Jaques Dartvell his great frende, he was sore dyspleased: incontynent he departed fro Sluse, and entred into the see, sore thretnyng the Flemmynges and the countrey of Flaunders, and sayd howe his dethe shulde be well revenged. Than the counsayls of the gode townes of Flaunders ymagined well howe the kyng of England wolde be soore dyspleased with this dede; than they determyned to go and excuse themselfe, specially they of Bruges, Ipre, Courtra, Andewarpe,[1] and of Francke.[2] They sent into Englande to the kyng for a salve conduct, that they might come to their excuse; the kynge, who was as than somwhat aswaged of his dyspleasure, graunted their desyre; than there came into Englande, men of estate out of the gode townes of Flanders, except of Gaunt; this was aboute the feest of saynt Mychaell, and the king beyng at Westmynster besyde London. There they so mekely excused them of the dethe of Jaques Dartvell, and sware solemly that they knewe nothynge therof tyll it was done; if they had, he was the man they wolde have defended to the best of their powers, and sayde howe they were right sorie of his dethe, for he had governed the contrey right wysely; and also they sayde that though they of Gaunt hadde done that dede, they shulde make a sufficyent amendes; also sayenge to the kyng and his counsell, that though he be deed, yet the kynge was never the farther of fro the love and favoure

[1] Not *Antwerp* here, but *Oudenarde.*

[2] *The Franc of Bruges.*

of them of Flaunders in all thynges except the inherytaunce of Flaunders, the which in no wyse they of Flaunders woll put away fro the ryght heyres: sayeng also to the kyng, Sir, ye have fayre yssue, bothe sonnes and doughters: as for the prince of Wales your eldest sonne, he canne nat fayle but to be a great prince, without the inherytaunce of Flaunders: sir, ye have a yonge doughter, and we have a yonge lorde, who is herytoure of Flaunders; we have hym in oure kepynge, may it please you to make a maryage bytwene them two, so ever after the county of Flaunders shall be in the yssue of your chylde. These wordes and suche other apeased the kyng: and finally was content with the Flemmynges and they with hym; and soo lytell and lytell the dethe of Jaques Dartvell was forgoten.

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Of the dethe of Jaques Dartvell of Gaunt.

CAP. CXVI

Of the dethe of Wyllyam erle of Heynault, who dyed in Freese and many with hym.

IN the same season the erle Wyllyam of Heynalt, beynge at siege before the towne of Dautryche,[1] and there hadde lyen a long season, he constrayned theym so soore, what by assautes and otherwyse, that finally he hadde his pleasure of them. And anone after in the same season, about the feest of saynt Remy, the same erle made a great assemble of men of armes, knyghtes and squyers, of Heynault, Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, Guerles, and Jullyers; the erle and his company departed fro Dordreche in Hollande, with a great navy of shyppes, and so sayled towardes Freese, for the erle of Heynault claymed to be lorde there; and yf the Fresons had been men to have brought to reason, therle indede hadde there great ryght, but there he was slayne, and a great nombre of knyghtes and squyers with hym. Sir John of Heynault aryved nat there with his nephue, for he aryved at another place; and whan he harde of the deth of his nephue, lyke a manne out of his mynde he wolde have fought with the Fresons, but his servantes, and specially sir Robert of Glenes, who as thanne was his squyer, dyd putte hym into his shyppe agayne agaynst his wyll; and

[1] *Utrecht.*

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Of the dethe of Wyllyam erle of Heynault, who dyed in Freese.

so he retourned agayne with a small company, and came to mount saynt Gertrude[1] in Hollande, wher the lady his nece was, wyfe to the sayd erle, named Jahane, eldest doughter to the duke of Brabant; and than she went to the lande of Buyche,[2] the which was her endowrie. Thus the countie of Heynalt was voyde a certayne space; and sir John of Heynalt dyd governe it unto the tyme that Margaret of Heynault, doughter[3] to therle Aubert, came thyder and toke possessyon of that herytage, and all lordes and other dyde to her feaultie and homage. This lady Margaret was maryed to the lorde Loyes of Bavyer, emperour of Almayne[4] and kynge of Romayns.

[1] *Gertruydenberg.*
[2] *Binch near Mons.*
[3] *mother.*
[4] *Germany.*

CAP. CXVII

Howe sir John of Heynalt became Frenche.

ANONE after, the French kyng entreated and caused the erle of Bloys to entreat this lorde John of Heynalt to become Frenche, promysing to gyve hym more revenues in Fraunce, than he had in Englande, to be assigned wher he wolde hymselfe devyce: to this request he dyd nat lightly agre, for he had spent all the floure of his youth in the servyce of the kyng of Englande, and was ever wel beloved with the kyng. Whan therle Loyes of Bloyes, who had maryed his doughter and had by her thre sonnes, Loyes, John, and Guy, sawe that he coude nat wynne hym by that meanes, he thought he wold assay another way, as to wyn the lorde of Saguynels,[5] who was chefe companyon and grettest of counsell with the lorde John of Heynault; and so they bytwene them devysed to make hym byleve that they of Englande wolde nat pay hym his pencyon; wherwith sir John of Heynault was sore dyspleased, so that he renounced his servyce and good wyll that he bare to the kynge of Englande. And whan the Frenche kyng knowe therof, incontynent he sent sufficyent messangers to hym, and so retayned hym of his counsayle with certayne wages, and recompensed hym in Fraunce with as moche or more than he had in Englande.

[5] *Fagnolle.*

CAP. CXVIII

Of the great hoost that the duke of Normandy brought into Gascone agaynst therle of Derby.

THE Frenche kyng was well infourmed of the conquestes that the erle of Derby had made in the countrey of Gascone; thanne he made a great sommons, that all noble and nat noble able for the feate of warre, shulde be at Orlyaunce and at Bourges and there about, at a certayne day lymytted. By reason of this commaundement came to Parys duke Odes of Burgoyne, his sonne, and therle of Arthoys, and of Colayne,[1] they came to the kynge with a thousande speares. Thane came the duke of Burbone, and therle of Ponthyeu his brother, with a great nombre of men of armes; thyder also came the erle of Ewe and of Guynes constable of Fraunce with a great company, also therle of Tankervyll, the dolphyne of Auverne, therle of Forestes, therle of Dampmartyne, therle of Vandone,[2] the lorde of Coucy, the lorde of Craon, the lorde of Sully, the bysshoppe of Bewvayes,[3] the lorde of Frennes, the lorde of Beaujewe, the lorde John of Chaalon, the lorde of Roy, and dyverse other, they all assembled in the cytie of Orlyaunce: they of that part of Loyre, and they of Poyctou, of Xaynton, of Rochell, of Caoursyn, and Lymosyn, they met in the marches of Tholouz. So all thes passed forthe towarde Roueryng,[4] and they founde moche more company assembled in the cytie of Rodes, and in the marches of Auverne and Provence; so at last they all came to the cite of Tholouz and there about, for they coude nat be all lodged in the cytie, for they were in nombre mo than a hundred thousand; this was in the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC.xlv. Anone after the feest of Christmas, the duke of Normandy who was chefe of that hoost, rode forth with his two marshals before hym, the lorde of Momorency, and the lorde saynt Venant: first they went to the castell of Myremont, the which the Englysshmen had wonne before, and captayne within was one John Bristowe: there they made assaut. Within were a hundred Englysshmen; and with the Frenchmen was sir Loyes of

[1] *Boulogne.*
[2] *Vendôme.*
[3] *Beauvais.*
[4] *Rouergue.*

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Of the great hoost that the duke of Normandy brought into Gascone agaynsttherle of Derby.

Spayne, with Genowayes crosbowes who sparredde no shotte, so that they within the castell coulde nat defende themselfe, but that the castell was won, and they all take and slayne with the captayne. Than the marshals set ther newe men. Than they passed forthe and came to Vyle Franche in Agenoyes; there all the hoost layd siege, and assayled the towne. At that season the captayne, sir Thomas Corque[1] was nat there, he was at Burdeaux with therle of Derby, who had sent for hym; howbeit, they within defended themselfe valyantly, but finally they were taken perforce, and the towne robbed and brent, and slayne the moste part of the soudyers. Than the hoost drewe to the cytie of Angolesme, and layd siege there; capytayne within was a squyer called John Normell.[2] Whan therle of Derby harde of this gret hoost and howe they had wonne agayne Myrmount and Vyle Franche, and brent the towne, and left the castell voyde, than he sent four knyghtes with threscore men of armes, and thre hundred archers to Vyle Franche, to entre into the castell and to close the gates agayne of the towne: and promysed theym, that if the Frenchmen came thyder agayne to assayle theym, he wolde socoure them whatsoever fell therof: and so these four knyghtes, that is to say, sir Stephyn Tombey, sir Rycharde Heldone, sir Raffe Hastynges, and sir Normant of Fynfroyde went thyder and newely fortifyed the towne and castell. Than therle of Derby desyred the erle of Penbroke, sir Gaultier of Manny, sir Franque de Hall, sir Thomas Coque, sir John de la Touche,[3] sir Rycharde of Beavayes, sir Philyp Reckeleve, sir Robert Nevyll, sir Thomas Briset,[4] and dyverse other knyghtes and squyers to go all to Aguyllon, and to kepe that fortres for he wolde be sore dyspleased if that shulde be lost. They departed and were a xl. knyghtes and squyers, and thre hundred men of armes, with archers; and so they entred into the stronge castell of Aguyllon, and there they founde a sixscore soudyours all redy that therle of Derby had left ther before; than they made provisyon for all thynges necessarie. And as these foresayd four knyghtes came towarde Vyle Franche, they founde in their way great plentie of beafes, mottons, and corne, the which they toke with them into their towne, and they repayred agayn the castell,

[1] *Cook.*

[2] *Norwich.*

[3] *Zouche.*

[4] *Bisset.*

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Of the great hoost that the duke of Normandy brought into Gascone agaynsttherle of Derby.

and mended the walles and gates of the towne, so that they were at last a fyftene hundred men, able to make defence, and had vytayle sufficyent for sixe monethes. The duke of Normandy, who had long lyen at sieg before Angolesme, sawe howe he coude nat wynne the towne by assaut for every day he lost of his men; than he commaunded to make no more assautes but to remeve nerer to the towne. On a day the seneshall of Beaucayre came to the duke and sayd, Sir, I knowe well all the marchesse of this countrey; if it wyll please you to lette me have a sixe hundred men of armes, and I shall go abrode into the contre, and gette vytayle for your hoost, for within a whyle we shall lacke; the duke was content. The next day the seneshall toke with hym certayne knightes, squyers, and lordes, that were content to go under hym: first the duke of Burbon, therle of Ponthieu his brother, the erle of Tankervyll, therle of Forestes, the dolphyn of Auverne, the lorde of Pons, the lorde of Partney, the lorde of Coucy, the lorde Daubigny, the lorde Dausemont, the lorde of Beaujewe, sir Guyssharde Dangle, sir Sayntre, and dyverse other, to a ix. C. speares. They toke their horse in the evenyng and rode all nyght tyll the brekyng of the day in the mornyng, and so came to a gret towne that was but newly wonne by thenglysshmen, called Athenys: and there a spy came to the seneshall and sayd, Sir, ther is in the towne a sixscore men of armes, Gascons and Englysshe, and iii. hundred archers, who woll defende the towne if ye gyve assaut, but I sawe this mornyng a ii. C. great beestes putte out of the towne into the medowes, joyninge to the towne. Than the seneshall sayd, Sirs, I thynke it best, let all our company abyde styll here in this valey and I woll go with lx. with me, and fetche the catayle hyther, and I thynke thenglysshmen woll yssue incontynent to rescue the pray, than shall ye mete with them. So this was done. The seneshall with threscore well horsed, rode by wayes covert about the towne by gidyng of the spye, tyll at last they came into the fayre medowes, wher the catayle pastured: than they drave all the beestes togyder alonge by the towne by another way than they came thyder: they of the castell and on the walles sawe them, and began to blowe and to styrre in the towne, and awaked some out

CAP. CXVIII Of the great hoost that the duke of Normandy brought into Gascone agaynsttherle of Derby.

of their beddes, for it was erely in the mornynge: and than they drewe togyder and mounted on their horses, and yssued out he that myght firste, so that there abode in the towne none but a certayne vylayns; thenglysshmen hasted them sore after the Frenchmen, and cryed, Sirs, ye shall nat go thus away. Than the Frenchmen came on them, so that within a lytell space they were overcome, and the captayne sir Stephyn Lesey[1] was taken prisoner and some other with hym, and all the other slayne: and than the Frenchemen rode hastely to the towne, the which they wanne with assaut, for it was without kepynge; the first batayle that entred was the duke of Burbons: than they sette there newe captayns, and so departed with their pray and prisoners, and so came the next day to the hoost before Angolesme; the seneshall of Beaucayre achyved great honoure by that dede, howbeit ther were gretter lordes with hym than hymselfe, but he was captayne as at that tyme.

[1] *Lucy.*

CAP. CXIX

Howe John Norwyche scaped fro Angolesme whan the towne was yelded to the Frenchmen.

THUS these lordes of France helde a great season sege before Angoleme, and they ranne over all the countrey that thenglysshmen hadde wonne before, and dyd moche trouble, and toke many prisoners and great prayes, the which they brought to their hoost; the two bretherne of Burbon achyved great laude and prayse for alwayes they went forth with the formast. Whan John Norwiche sawe that the duke wolde nat depart thens tyll he had the towne at his pleasure, and parceyved howe their vitayls began to wast and that the erle of Derby made no maner to rescue theym; and also he sawe well howe they of the towne enclyned greatly to the Frenche party, for they wolde have tourned French, or that tyme, if they had durst, therfore he doubted of treason: wherfore he thought to save hymself and his company. On the evyn of the Purifycation of our lady, all alone he went to the walles of the cyte, without shewyng to any man what he wolde do: he made a

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Howe John Norwyche scaped fro Angolesme.

token with his hatte to them of the host; they that sawe the signe came thyder and demaunded what he wolde. He sayde he wolde gladly speke with the duke of Normandy, or with one of his marshals: incontynent this was shewed to the duke who went thyder and certayne knyghtes with hym: assone as the captayne sawe the duke, he toke of his cap and saluted the duke, and the duke saluted hym and sayde, John, howe is it with you, woll you yelde yourselfe. Sir, quoth he, I am nat so yet determyned; but sir, I wold desyre you in the honoure of our lady, whose day shal be to morowe, that ye wolde graunt a truse to endure all onely but to morowe, so that you nor we, none to greve other, but to be in peace that day. The duke sayde, I am content, and so they departed. The next day, which was Candelmas day, John Norwiche and his company armed them, and trussed all that they had to bere away: than they opyned their gate and yssued oute: than they of the hoost began to styrre; than the captayne rode on before to them, and sayd, Sirs, beware, do no hurt to none of us, for we woll do none, we have truse for this day all onely, agreed by the duke your captayne; if ye knowe it nat, go and demaunde of hym, for by reason of this trewse, we may ryde this day whyther we woll. The duke was demaunded what was his pleasure in that mater; the duke answered and sayde, Let them depart whyder they woll a Goddesname, for we can nat let them, for I woll kepe that I have promysed. Thus John Norwych departed and all his company, and passed the French hoost without any damage and went to Aguyllon; and whan the knightes ther knewe howe he had saved hymselfe and his company, they sayde he had begyled his ennemyes by a good subtyltie. The next day after they of the cytie of Angolesme went to counsayle, and determyned to yelde up the towne to the duke: they sent to hym into the hoost certayne messangers, who at last spedde so well, that the duke toke them to mercy and pardoned them all his yvell wyll, and so entred into the cytie and into the castell, and toke homage of the cytizens, and made captayne ther Antony Vyllers, and set a hundred soudyers with hym. Than the duke went to the castell of Damassene, where he helde siege xv. dayes and every day assaut; finally it was

CAP. CXIX

Howe John Norwyche scaped fro Angolesme.

won, and all that were within slayn. The duke gave that castell and the landes therto to a squyer of Beausse, called the Bourge of Mulle:[1] than the duke came to Thomyns,[2] on the ryver of Garon, and there lay at siege a certayne space; at laste they within yelded up, their goodes and lyves saved, and to be savely conducted to Burdeaux. So the strangers departed, but they of the towne came under the obeysaunce of the duke; the duke taryed aboute the ryver of Garon, tyll it was past Ester: and than he went to port saynt Mary on the same ryver, and there were a two hundred Englysshmen that kept the towne and the passage and was well fortifyed, but it was taken with assaut and all they within: than ther were set newe captayns, and men of warr, and newe repayred the towne, and thanne the duke went to Aguyllone.

[1] *Le Borgne de Milly.*

[2] *Tonneins.*

CAP. CXX

Howe the duke of Normandy layd siege to Aguyllon with a hundred thousande men.

THE duke of Normandy and these lordes of Fraunce dyd so moche that they came to the castell of Aguyllone: there they layde their siege aboute the fayre medowes, along by the ryver able to bere shyppes, every lorde amonge his owne company and every constable by hymselfe, as it was ordayned by the marshals. This sege endured tyll the feest of saynt Remy: ther were well C. thousande men of warr, a horsebacke and a fote: they made lightly every day two or thre assautes, and moost commenly fro the mornyng tyll it was nere nyght without ceasynge, for ever there came newe assauters that wolde nat suffre them within to rest. The lordes of Fraunce sawe well they coude nat well come to the fortres[1] without they passed the ryver, the which was large and depe. Than the duke commaunded that a bridge shuld be made, whatsoever it coste, to passe the ryver; there were sette awarke, mo than thre hundred workemen, who dyde worke day and nyght. Whan the knyghtes within sawe this brige more than halfe made over the ryver, they decked thre shyppes, and entred into theym a certayne, and so came on the workemen,

[1] *fronters* P.

and chased them away, with their defenders; and ther they brake all to peaces that had ben longe a makynge. Whane the Frenche lordes sawe that, than they apayrelled other shyppes, to resyst agaynst their shyppes; and than the workemen beganne agayne to worke on the bridge, on trust of their defenders; and whan they had worked halfe a day and more, sir Gaultier of Manny and his company entred into a shyppe, and came on the workemen, and made them to leave warke and to recule backe, and brake agayn all that they had made. This besynesse was nygh every day; but at last the Frenchmen kept so well their workemen, that the bridge was made perforce; and thanne the lordes and all their army passed over in maner of bataylle, and they assawtedde the castell a hole day togyder without ceasyng, but nothynge they wanne; and at nyght they retourned to their lodgynges: and they within amended all that was broken, for they had with them workemen ynoughe. The next day the Frenchmen devyded their assauters into foure partes, the first to begynne in the mornyng and to contynue tyll nyne, the seconde tyll noon, the thyrde to evyn song tyme, and the fourth tyll nyght: after that maner they assayled the castell sixe dayes togyder; howebeit they within were nat so sore traveyled, but alwayes they defended themselfe so valyantly, that they without wanne nothynge, but onely the bridge without the castell. Thane the Frenchmen toke other counsayle; they sende to Tholouz for eyght great engyns, and they made there foure gretter, and they made all xii. to cast day and nyght agaynst the castell, but they within were so well pavysshed, that never a ston of their engyns dyde theym any hurt; it brake somwhat the coveryng of some houses. They within had also great engyns, the which brake downe all the engyns without, for in a shorte space they brake all to pecys sixe of the greattest of them without. Duryng this siege often tymes sir Water of Manny yssued out with a hundred or sixe score companyons, and went on that syde the ryver a foragynge, and retourned agayne with great prayes in the syght of them without. On a day, the lorde Charles of Momorency, marshall of the host, rode forthe with a fyve hundred with hym, and whane he retourned, he drave before hym a great

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Howe the duke of Normandy layd siege to Aguyllon.

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Howe the duke of Normandy layd siege to Aguyllon.

nombre of beestes, that he had get togyder in the countrey to refresshe thoost with vytayle; and by adventure he encountred with sir Gaultier of Manny. There was bytwene them a great fight and many overthrowen, hurte, and slayne; the Frenchemen were fyve agaynst one. Tidynges therof came unto Aguyllon: than every man that myght yssued out, therle of Penbroke first of all and his company; and whan he came, he founde sir Gaultier of Manny a fote, enclosed with his ennemyes, and dyde mervayls in armes. Incontynent he was rescued and remounted agayne, and in the meane season, some of the Frenchemen chased their beestes quyckely into the hoost, or els they had lost them, for they that yssued out of Aguyllon set so feersly on the Frenchmen, that they putte theym to the flyght, and delyverd their company that were takenne and tooke many Frenchemen prisoners, and sir Charles of Momorency had moche warke to scape: than thenglysshmen retourned into Aguyllon. Thus every day almoost there were suche rencounters, besyde the assautes. On a day all the hole hoost armed them, and the duke commaunded that they of Tholouz, of Carcassone, of Beaucayre, shulde make assaut fro the mornynge tyll noone, and they of Remergue,[1] Caours and Agenoys fro noone tyll nyght: and the duke promysed who soever coude wynne the brige of the gate shulde have in rewarde a hundred crownes. Also the duke, the better to mentayne this assaut, he caused to come on the ryver dyverse shyppes and barges: some entred into them to passe the ryver, and some went by the bridge: at the last some of theym toke a lytell vessell and went under the brige, and dyde cast great hokes of yron to the drawe bridge, and than drewe it to them so sore, that they brake the chenes of yron that helde the bridge, and so pulled downe the bridge parforce. Than the Frenchmen lept on the bridge so hastely, that one overthrewe another, for every man desyred to wyn the hundred crownes. They within cast downe barres of yron, peces of tymbre, pottes of lyme, and hote water, so that many were overthrowen fro the bridge into the water and into the dykes, and many slayne and sore hurt; howbeit the bridge was wonne perforce, but it cost more than it was worthe, for they coude nat for

[1] *Rouergue.*

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Howe the duke of Normandy layd siege to Aguyllon.

all that wyn the gate. Than they drewe abacke to their lodgynges for it was late: thane they within yssued out, and newe made agayne their drawe bridge, stronger thane ever it was before. The next day ther came to the duke two connyng men maisters in carpentre, and sayde, Sir, if ye woll let us have tymbre and workemen, we shall make foure scaffoldes as hygh or hyer thane the walles. The duke commaunded that it shulde be done, and to get carpenters in the contrey, and to gyve them good wages; so these four scafoldes wer made in four shyppes, but it was long first, and cost moch or they were finysshed. Than suche as shulde assayle the castell in them were apoynted and entred; and whan they were passed halfe the ryver, they within the castell let go four martynetes that they had newely made, to resyst agaynst these scafoldes. These four martynettes dyd cast out so great stones, and so often fell on the scafoldes, that in a short space they were all to broken, so that they that were within them coulde nat be pavysshed by theym, so that they were fayne to drawe backe agayne; and or they were agayne at lande one of the scafoldes drowned in the water, and the moost part of them that were within it; the which was great damage, for therin were good knyghtes, desyringe their bodyes to avaunce. Whan the duke sawe that he coude nat come to his entent by that meanes, he caused the other thre scafoldes to rest: than he coude se no way howe he might gette the castell, and he had promysed nat to departe thense, tyll he had it at his wyll, without the kyng his father dyd sende for hym. Than he sende the constable of France, and the erle of Tankervyll to Parys to the kyng, and there they shewed hym the state of the siege of Aguyllone. The kynges mynde was that the duke shulde lye there styll, tyll he had won them by famyn, syth he coude nat have them by assaut.

CAP CXXI

Howe the kyng of Englande came over the see agayne to rescue them in Aguyllone.

THE kyng of Englande, who had harde howe his men were sore constrayned in the castell of Aguyllon, than he thought to go over the see into Gascoyne with a great army: ther he made his provisyon, and sent for men all about his realme and in other places, wher he thought to spede for his money. In the same season the lorde Godfray of Harecourt came into Englande, who was banysshed out of Fraunce; he was well receyved with the kynge and retayned to be about hym, and had fayre landes assigned hym in Englande, to mentayne his degree. Than the kynge caused a great navy of shyppes to be redy in the havyn of Hampton,[1] and caused all maner of men of warr to drawe thyder. About the feest of saynt John Baptyst, the yere of our Lorde God, M.CCC.xlv. the kynge departed fro the quene and lefte her in the gydinge of therle of Cane[2] his cosyn: and he stablysshed the lorde Persy and the lorde Nevyll to be wardyns of his realme with the archebysshoppe of Yorke, the bysshoppe of Lyncolne, and the bysshoppe of Durham: for he never voyded his realme but that he lefte ever ynough at home to kepe and defende the realme, yf nede were. Than the kyng rode to Hampton, and there taryed for wynde; than he entred into his shyppe and the prince of Wales with hym, and the lorde Godfray of Harecourt, and all other lordes, erles, barownes, and knyghtes, with all their companyes; they were in nombre a foure thousande men of armes, and ten thousande archers, besyde Irysshmen and Walsshmen that folowed the host a fote.

[1] *Southampton.*

[2] *Kent.*

Nowe I shall name you certayne of the lordes that went over with kyng Edwarde in that journey. First, Edward, his eldest sonne, prince of Wales, who as thane was of the age of xiii. yeres or there about: the erles of Herforde, Northamptone, Arundell, Cornewall, Warwyke, Huntyngdon, Suffolke, and Oxenforth: and of barons the lorde Mor-

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tymer, who was after erle of Marche, the lordes John, Loyes,[1] and Roger of Beauchampe, and the lorde Reynold Cobham: of lordes the lorde of Mombray,[2] Rose,[3] Lucy, Felton, Brastone,[4] Myllon, Labey, Maule, Basset, Barlett, and Wylloughby, with dyvers other lordes: and of bachelars there was John Chandoys, Fytzwaren, Peter and James Audelay, Roger of Vertuall, Bartylmewe of Bries,[5] and Rycharde of Penbruges,[6] with dyvers other that I can nat name: fewe ther were of strangers: ther was the erle Hanyou, sir Olphas[7] of Guystels, and v. or vi. other knyghtes of Almayne, and many other that I can nat name. Thus they sayled forth that day in the name of God; they were well onwarde on their way towarde Gascone, but on the thirde day ther rose a contrary wynde and drave them on the marches of Cornewall, and ther they lay at ancre vi. dayes. In that space the kyng had other counsell by the meanes of sir Godfray Harcourt; he counselled the kyng nat to go into Gascoyne, but rather to set a lande in Normandy, and sayde to the kyng, Sir, the countre of Normandy is one of the plentyous countreis of the worlde: sir, on jeopardy on my heed, if ye woll lande ther, ther is none that shall resyst you: the people of Normandy have nat ben used to the warr, and all the knyghtes and squyers of the contrey ar nowe at the siege before Aguyllon with the duke: and sir, ther ye shall fynde great townes that be nat walled, wherby your men shall have suche wynning, that they shal be the better therby xx. yere after: and sir, ye may folowe with your army tyll ye come to Cane in Normandy; sir, I requyre you byleve me in this voyage. The kyng, who was as than but in the floure of his youth, desyring nothyng so moche as to have dedes of armes, inclyned greatly to the sayeng of the lorde Harecourt, whom he called cosyn. Than he commaunded the maryners to set their course to Normandy; and he toke into his shyp the token of thadmyrall therle of Warwyke, and sayd howe he wolde be admyrall for that vyage, and so sayled on before as governour of that navy, and they had wynde at wyll. Than the kyng aryved in the ysle of Constantyne,[8] at a port called Hogue saynt Wast. Tydinges anone spredde abrode howe thenglysshmen were a lande; the townes of Constantyne sent worde therof to

[1] *Louis.*
[2] *Mowbray.*
[3] *Ros.*
[4] *Bradestane.*
[5] *Burghersh.*
[6] *Pembridge.*
[7] *Oulphart.*
[8] *Cotentin.*

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Howe the kyng of Englande came over the see agayne to rescue them in Aguyllone.

Parys, to kynge Philyppe: he had well harde before howe the kynge of Englande was on the see with a great army, but he wyst nat what way he wolde drawe, other into Normandy, Bretayne, or Gascoyne. Assone as he knewe that the kyng of Englande was a lande in Normandy, he sende his constable therle of Guynes, and the erle of Tankervell, who were but newely come to hym fro his sonne fro the siege at Aguyllon, to the towne of Cane, commaundyng them to kepe that towne agaynst the Englysshmen. They sayd they wolde do their best: they departed fro Parys with a good nombre of men of warre, and dayly there came mo to them by the way; and so came to the towne of Cane, where they were receyved with great joye of men of the towne and of the countrey there about, that were drawen thyder for suretie: these lordes toke hede for the provisyon of the towne, the which as than was nat walled. The kyng thus was aryved at the port Hogue saynt Wast, nere to saynt Savyour the Vycount,[1] the right herytage to the lorde Godfray of Harcourt, who as than was ther with the kynge of Englande.

[1] *St. Sauveur le Vicomte.*

CAP. CXXII

Howe the kynge of Englande rode in thre batayls through Normandy.

WHANE the kynge of Englande arryved in the Hogue saynt Wast, the kyng yssued out of his shyppe, and the firste fote that he sette on the grounde, he fell so rudely, that the blode brast out of his nose. The knyghtes that were aboute hym toke hym up and sayde, Sir, for Goddessake entre agayne into your shyppe, and come nat a lande this day, for this is but an yvell signe for us. Than the kyng answered quickely and sayd, Wherfore, this is a good token for me, for the land desyreth to have me. Of the whiche answere all his men were right joyfull. So that day and nyght the kyng lodged on the sandes, and in the meane tyme dyscharged the shyppes of their horses and other bagages. There the kyng made two marshals of his hoost, the one the lorde Godfray of Harecourt, and the other therle of Warwyke, and the erle of Arundell con-

stable. And he ordayned that therle of Huntyngdon shulde kepe the flete of shyppes with C. men of armes, and iiii. C. archers: and also he ordayned thre batayls, one to go on his right hande, closyng to the see syde, and the other on his lyfte hande, and the kynge hymselfe in the myddes, and every night to lodge all in one felde. Thus they sette forth as they were ordayned, and they that went by the see toke all the shyppes that they founde in their wayes; and so long they went forthe, what by see and what by lande, that they came to a good port, and to a good towne called Harflewe,[1] the which incontynent was wonne, for they within gave up for feare of dethe. Howebeit, for all that the towne was robbed, and moche golde and sylver there founde, and ryche jewels: there was founde so moche rychesse, that the boyes and vyllayns of the hoost sette nothyng by good furred gownes: they made all the men of the towne to yssue out and to go into the shyppes, bycause they wolde nat suffre them to be behynde them, for feare of rebellyng agayne. After the towne of Harflewe was thus taken and robbed without brennyng, than they spredde abrode in the countrey, and dyd what they lyst, for there was nat to resyst them. At laste they came to a great and a ryche towne called Cherbourgue; the towne they wan and robbed it, and brent parte therof, but into the castell they coude nat come, it was so stronge and well furnysshed with men of warre: thane they passed forthe, and came to Mountbourgue, and toke it and robbed and brent it clene. In this maner they brent many other townes in that countrey, and wan so moche rychesse, that it was marvell to rekyn it. Thanne they came to a great towne well closed, called Quarentyne,[2] where ther was also a strong castell, and many soudyours within to kepe it; thane the lordes came out of their shyppes and feersly made assaut. The burgesses of the towne were in great feare of their lyves, wyves and chyldren: they suffred thenglysshemen to entre into the towne agaynst the wyll of all the soudyours that were ther; they putte all their goodes to thenglysshmens pleasures, they thought that moost advauntage. Whan the soudyours within sawe that, they went into the castell: the Englysshmen went into the towne, and two dayes toguyder

CAP. CXXII

Howe the kynge of Englande rode in thre batayls through Normandy.

[1] *Barfleur.*

[2] *Carentan.*

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they made sore assautes, so that whan they within se no socoure, they yelded up, their lyves and goodes savyed; and so departed. Thenglysshmen had their pleasure of that good towne and castell, and whan they sawe they might nat mentayne to kepe it, they set fyre therin and brent it, and made the burgesses of the towne to entre into their shyppes, as they had done with them of Harflewe,[1] Chyerburgue, and Mountbourge, and of other townes that they had wonne on the see syde; all this was done by the batayle that went by the see syde, and by them on the see togyder. Nowe let us speke of the kinges batayle: whan he had sent his first batayle alonge by the see syde, as ye have harde, wherof one of his marshals therle of Warwyke was captayne, and the lorde Cobham with hym, than he made his other marshall to lede his hoost on his lyft hande, for he knewe the yssues, and entrees of Normandy better than any other dyd ther. The lorde Godfray as marshall rode forthe with fyve hundred men of armes, and rode of fro the kynges batayle as sixe or sevyne leages, in brennynge and exilyng the countrey, the which was plentyfull of every thynge; the granges full of corne, the houses full of all ryches, riche burgesses, cartes and charyottes, horse, swyne, mottons, and other beestes. They toke what them lyst and brought into the kynges hoost, but the soudyours made no count to the kynge nor to none of his offycers of the golde and sylver that they dyd gette, they kept that to themselfe. Thus sir Godfray of Harecourt rode every day of fro the kynges hoost, and for moost parte every nyght resorted to the kynges felde. The kyng toke his way to saynt Lowe,[2] in Constantyne, but or he came ther he lodged by a ryver, abyding for his men that rode along by the see syde; and whan they were come, they sette forthe their caryage, and therle of Warwyke, therle of Suffolke, sir Thomas Hollande and sir Raynolde Cobham, and their company, rode out on the one syde, and wasted and exiled the contrey, as the lorde Harecourt hadde done; and the kynge ever rode bytwene these bataylles, and every nyght they logedde togyder.

[1] *Barfleur.*

[2] *Lo.*

CAP. CXXIII

Of the great assemble that the Frenche kynge made to resyst the kyng of Englande.

THUS by thenglysshmen was brent, exyled, robbed, wasted, and pylled, the good plentyfull countrey of Normandy. Thanne the Frenche kyng sent for the lorde John of Heynalt, who came to hym with a great nombre; also the kyng sende for other men of armes, dukes, erles, barownes, knyghtes, and squyers, and assembled togyder the grettest nombre of people that had ben sene in France a hundred yere before. He sent for men into so ferr countreys, that it was longe or they came togyder, wherof the kynge of Englande dyde what hym lyste in the meane season. The French kyng harde well what he dyd, and sware and sayd, howe they shulde never retourne agayne unfought withall, and that suche hurtes and damages as they had done shulde be derely revenged; wherfore he had sent letters to his frendes in thempyre, to suche as wer farthest of, and also to the gentyll kyng of Behayne, and to the lorde Charles his son, who fro thensforthe was called kynge of Almaygne, he was made kynge by the ayde of his father and the Frenche kyng, and had taken on hym the armes of thempyre: the Frenche kyng desyred them to come to hym with all their powers, to thyntent to fyght with the kynge of Englande, who brent and wasted his countrey. These princes and lordes made them redy with great nombre of men of armes, of Almaynes, Behaynoes, and Luxambroses,[1] and so came to the Frenche kyng. Also kyng Philyppe send to the duke of Lorayne, who came to serve hym with CCC. speares: also ther came therle Samynes[2] in Samynoes, therle of Salebruges,[3] the erle of Flaunders, the erle Wyllyam of Namure, every man with a fayre company. Ye have harde here before of the order of thenglysshmen, howe they went in thre batayls, the marshalles on the right hande and on the lyft, the kyng and the prince of Wales his sonne in the myddes. They rode but small journeys, and every day toke their lodgynges bytwene noone and thre of the clocke,

[1] *Luxemburgers.*

[2] *Salm (Saumes en Saumois).*

[3] *Sarrebruck.*

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Of the great assemble that the Frenche kynge made to resyst the kyng of Englande.

and founde the countrey so frutefull, that they neded nat to make no provisyon for their hoost, but all onely for wyne, and yet they founde reasonably sufficyent therof. It was no marveyle though they of the countrey were afrayed, for before that tyme they had never sene men of warre, nor they wyst nat what warre or batayle ment. They fledde away as ferr as they might here spekyng of thenglysshmen, and left their houses well stuffed, and graunges full of corne, they wyst nat howe to save and kepe it. The kynge of Englande and the prince had in their batayle a thre thousand men of armes and sixe thousande archers and a ten thousande men a fote, besyde them that rode with the marshals. Thus as ye have harde, the kyng rode forth, wastynge and brennyng the countrey, without brekyng of his order: he left the cytie of Constance,[1] and went to a great towne called saynt Lowe, a rych towne of drapery, and many riche burgesses. In that towne ther were dwellyng an viii. or nynescore burgesses, crafty men: whanne the kynge came ther, he toke his lodgyng without, for he wolde never lodge in the towne, for feare of fyre, but he sende his men before, and anone the towne was taken and clene robbed: it was harde to thynke the great ryches that there was won, in clothes specially; clothe wolde ther have ben solde good chepe, yf ther had ben any byers. Than the kynge went towarde Cane, the which was a greatter towne, and full of drapery and other marchauntdyse, and riche burgesses, noble ladyes and damosels, and fayre churches, and specially two great and riche abbeys, one of the Trynyte, another of saynt Stephyn; and on the one syde of the towne, one of the fayrest castels of all Normandy, and capitayn therin was Robert of Blargny,[2] with thre hundred Genowayes; and in the towne was therle of Ewe and of Guynes, constable of Fraunce, and therle of Tankervyll, with a good nombre of men of warr. The king of England rode that day in good order, and logedde all his batayls togyder that night, a two leages fro Cane, in a towne with a lytell havyn, called Haustreham,[3] and thyder came also all his navy of shyppes, with therle of Huntyngdone who was governour of them. The constable and other lordes of France that nyght watched well the towne of Cane, and in the mornyng armed them

[1] *Coutances.*

[2] *Wargny.*

[3] *Austrehem.*

with all them of the towne; than the constable ordayned that none shulde yssue out, but kepe their defences on the walles, gate, bridge, and ryver, and left the subbarbes voyde, bycause they were nat closedde, for they thought they shulde have ynough to do to defende the towne, bycause it was nat closedde but with the ryver; they of the towne sayde howe they wolde yssue out, for they were strong ynough to fyght with the kyng of Englande. Whan the constable sawe their good wyls, he sayd, In the name of God be it, ye shall nat fyght without me. Than they yssued out in good order, and made good face to fyght and to defende theym and to putte their lyves in adventure.

CAP. CXXIII

Of the great assemble that the Frenche kynge made to resyst the kyng of Englande.

CAP. CXXIIII

Of the batayle of Cane, and howe thenglysshmen toke the towne.

THE same day thenglysshmen rose erly and apayrelled them redy to go to Cane: the kyng harde masse[1] before the sonne rysing, and than toke his horse, and the prince his son, with sir Godfray of Harcourt marshall and leader of the hoost, whose counsayle the kyng moche folowed. Than they drewe towarde Cane with their batels in good aray, and so aproched the good towne of Cane. Whane they of the towne, who were redy in the felde, sawe these thre batayls commyng in good order, with their baners and standerdes wavynge in the wynde, and the archers, the which they had nat ben accustomed to se, they were sore afrayd, and fledde away toward the towne without any order or good aray, for all that the constable coulde do: than the Englysshmen pursued them egerly. Whan the constable and the erle Tankervyll sawe that, they toke a gate at the entry and saved themselfe and certayne with them, for the Englysshmen were entred into the towne. Some of the knyghtes and squyers of Fraunce, suche as knewe the way to the castell went thyder, and the captayne ther receyved them all, for the castell was large. Thenglysshmen in the chase slewe many, for they toke non to mercy. Than the constable and the erle of Tankervylle, beynge in

[1] *noyse* P.

CAP. CXXIIII

Of the batayle of Cane, and howe thenglysshmen toke the towne.

the lytell towre at the bridge fote, loked alonge the strete and sawe their men slayne without mercy: they douted to fall in their handes. At last they sawe an Englysshe knyght with one eye called sir Thomas Holand, and a fyve or sixe other knyghtes with hym; they knewe them, for they had sene them before in Pruce,[1] in Grenade, and in other vyages: than they called to sir Thomas, and sayd howe they wold yelde themselfe prisoners. Than sir Thomas came thyder with his company and mounted up into the gate, and there founde the sayd lordes with xxv. knyghtes with them, who yelded theym to sir Thomas, and he toke them for his prisoners, and left company to kepe theym, and than mounted agayne on his horse and rode into the streates, and saved many lyves of ladyes, damosels, and cloysterers fro defoylyng, for the soudyers were without mercy. It fell so well the same season for thenglysshmen, that the ryver, which was able to bere shyppes, at that time was so lowe, that men went in and out besyde the bridge. They of the towne were entred into their houses, and cast downe into the strete stones, tymbre, and yron, and slewe and hurte mo than fyve hundred Englysshmen; wherwith the kynge was sore dyspleased. At night whan he hard therof, he commaunded that the next day all shulde be putte to the swerde and the towne brent: but than sir Godfray of Harecourt sayd, Dere sir, for Goddessake asswage somwhat your courage, and let it suffice you that ye have done; ye have yet a great voyage to do, or ye come before Calys, whyder ye purpose to go; and sir, in this towne there is muche people who wyll defende their houses, and it woll cost many of your men their lyves, or ye have all at your wyll, wherby paraventure ye shall nat kepe your purpose to Calys, the which shulde redowne to your rech. Sir, save your people, for ye shall have nede of them or this moneth passe, for I thynke verely your adversary kyng Philypp woll mete with you to fight, and ye shall fynde many strayt passages and rencounters; wherfore your men and ye had mo, shall stande you in gode stede; and sir, without any further sleynge, ye shall be lorde of this towne; men and women woll putte all that they have to your pleasur. Than the kyng sayd, Sir Godfray, you ar our marshall, ordayne every thyng as ye woll. Than sir

[1] *Prussia.*

CAP. CXXIIII

Of the batayle of Cane, and howe thenglysshmen toke the towne.

Godfray with his baner rode fro strete to strete, and commaunded in the kynges name non to be so hardy to put fyre in any hous, to slee any persone, nor to vyolate any woman. Whan they of the towne hard that crye, they receyved the Englysshmen into their houses, and made theym good chere: and some opyned their coffers, and badde them take what them lyst, so they might be assured of their lyves: howe be it ther were done in the towne many yvell dedes, murdrers, and roberyes. Thus the Englysshemen were lordes of the towne thre dayes, and wanne great richesse, the which they sent by barkesse and barges to saynt Savyoure, by the ryver of Austrehen, a two leages thens, wheras all their navy lay. Than the kyng sende therle of Huntyngdon with two hundred men of armes and foure hundred archers with his navy and prisoners and richesse that they had gotte, backe agayne into Englande. And the kynge bought of sir Thomas Hallande the constable of Fraunce and therle of Tankervyll, and payed for them twentie thousande nobles.

CAP. CXXV

Howe sir Godfray of Harecourte fought with them of Amyens before Parys.

THUS the kyng of England ordred his besynesse, beynge in the towne of Cane, and sende into Englande his navy of shyppes charged with clothes, jewelles, vessels of golde and sylver, and of other rychesse, and of prisoners mo than lx. knightes and thre hundred burgesses. Than he departed fro the towne of Cane, and rode in the same order as he dyde before, brennynge and exilynge the countrey, and toke the way to Ewreus,[1] and so past by it; and fro thens they rode to a great towne called Lovyers,[2] it was the chiefe towne of all Normandy of drapery, riches, and full of marchandyse: thenglysshmen soone entred therin, for as than it was nat closed; it was overron, spoyled, and robbed without mercy; there was won great richesse. Thane they entred into the countrey of Ewreus, and brent and pylled all the countrey, except the good townes closed and castels, to the which the kynge made none assaut,

[1] *Evreux.*
[2] *Louviers.*

CAP. CXXV

Howe sir Godfray of Harecourte fought with them of Amyens before Parys.

bycause of the sparynge of his people and his artillery. On the ryver of Sane, nere to Rone, there was the erle of Harecourt, brother to sir Godfray of Harecourt; but he was on the Frenche partie, and therle of Dreux with hym, with a good nombre of men of warre; but thenglysshmen left Roon, and went to Gysors, where was a strong castell; they brent the towne, and then they brent Vernon, and all the countrey about Roon, and Pont de Lache,[1] and came to Nauntes[2] and to Meulence,[3] and wasted all the countrey about, and passed by the stronge castell of Robeboyes;[4] and in every place a long the ryver of Sane they founde the briges broken: at last they came to Poyssey, and founde the brige broken, but the arches and joystes lay in the ryver; the kyng lay there a v. dayes. In the mean season the brige was made to passe the hoost without paryll; thenglysshe marshals ranne abrode just to Parys, and brent saynt Germayne in Lay, and Mountjoy, and saynt Clowde, and pety Bolayne[5] by Parys, and the quenes Bourge:[6] they of Parys were nat well assured of theymselfe, for it was nat as than closed. Than kyng Philyppe removed to saynt Denyse, and or he went caused all the pentessys in Parys to be pulled downe; and at saynt Denyse were redy come the kynge of Behayne, the lorde John of Heynalt, the duke of Lorayne, therle of Flaunders, therle of Bloyes, and many other great lordes and knyghtes, redy to serve the Frenche kynge. Whan the people of Parys sawe their kyng depart, they came to hym, and knelyd downe and sayd, A sir and noble kyng, what woll ye do, leve thus this noble cytie of Parys. The kynge sayd, My good people, doute ye nat, thenglysshmen woll aproche you no nerer than they be. Why so, sir, quoth they, they be within these two leages, and assone as they knowe of your departynge, they woll come and assayle us, and we be nat able to defende them: sir, tary here styll, and helpe to defende your gode cite of Parys. Speke no more, quoth the kynge, for I woll go to saynt Denyse to my men of warre, for I woll encountre the Englysshmen, and fight agaynst them, what soever fall therof. The kyng of Englande was at Poissoy, and lay in the nonery there, and kept ther the feest of our lady in August, and satte in his robes of scarlet furred with armyns; and after that feest he went forth in order as

[1] *Pont de l'Arche.*
[2] *Mantes.*
[3] *Meulan.*
[4] *Rolleboise.*
[5] *Boulogne.*
[6] *Bourg la Reine.*

CAP. CXXV

Howe sir Godfray of Harecourte fought with them of Amyens before Parys.

they were before. The lorde Godfray of Harecourt rode out on the one syde, with fyve hundred men of armes and xiii. hundred archers; and by adventure he encountred a gret nombre of burgesses of Amyense a horsebacke, who were ryding by the kynges commaundement to Parys; they were quyckly assayled, and they defended themselfe valyantly, for they were a great nombre and well armed; there were foure knyghtes of Amyense their captayns. This skirmisshe dured longe: at the first metyng many were overthrowen on bothe partes, but finally the burgesses were taken and nye all slayne, and thenglysshmen toke all their caryages and harnes. They were well stuffed, for they were goyng to the French kyng well apoynted, bycause they had nat sene hym a great season before: ther were slayne in the felde a xii. hundred. Than the kynge of Englande entred into the countrey of Beauvosyn,[1] brennynge and exyling the playne countrey, and lodged at a fayre abbey and a ryche called saynt Messene, nere to Beaways; ther the kyng taryed a night and in the mornyng departed. And whan he was on his way he loked behynde him and sawe the abbey a fyre; he caused incontynent xx. of them to be hanged that set the fyre ther, for he had commaunded before on payne of dethe none to vyolate any church, nor to bren any abbey: than the kyng past by the cite of Beaways, without any assaut gyveng, for bycause he wolde nat trouble his peple nor wast his artillery. And so that day he toke his logyng betyme in a lytell town called Nully.[2] The two marshals came so nere to Beaways, that they made assaut and skirmysh at the barryers in thre places, the whiche assaut endured a long space; but the towne within was so well defended by the meanes of the byshoppe, who was ther within, that finally thenglysshemen departed, and brent clene harde to the gates all the subbarbes, and than at night they came into the kynges felde. The next day the kyng departed, brennyng and wasting all before hym, and at night lodged in a good vyllage called Grancuiller;[3] the next day the kyng past by Argies; ther was none to defende the castell, wherfore it was sone taken and brent. Than they went forth dystroyeng the countrey all about, and so came to the castell of Poys, where ther was a good towne

[1] *Beauvoisis.*

[2] *Milly.*

[3] *Grandvilliers.*

CAP. CXXV
Howe sir Godfray of Harecourte fought with them of Amyens before Parys.

and two castels. Ther was no body in them but two fayre damosels, doughters to the lorde of Poys; they were sone taken, and had ben vyolated, and two Englysshe knyghtes had nat ben, sir Johan Chandos and sir Basset; they defended them and brought them to the kyng, who for his honour made them gode chere, and demaunded of them whyther they wolde faynest go; they sayd to Corbe:[1] and the kynge caused them to be brought thyder without paryll. That nyght the kyng lodged in the towne of Poys: they of the towne and of the castels spake that nyght with the marshals of thoost, to save them and their towne fro brennyng, and they to pay a certayne somme of floreyns the nexte day assone as the hoost was departed. This was graunted them, and in the mornyng the kyng departed with all his hoost except a certayne that were left there to receyve the money that they of the towne had promysed to pay. Whan they of the towne sawe thoost depart and but a fewe left behynd, than they sayd they wolde pay never a peny, and so ranne out and set on thenglysshmen, who defended themselfe as well as they might, and sende after thost for socoure. Whan sir Reynolde Cobham and sir Thomas Hollande, who had the rule of the reregarde, harde therof, they retourned and cryed Treason, treason, and so came agayne to Poys warde, and founde their companyons styll fightyng with them of the towne. Than anone they of the towne were nighe all slayne and the towne brent, and the two castels beaten downe. Than they retourned to the kynges hoost, who was as than at Araynes and there lodged, and had commaunded all maner of men on payne of dethe to do no hurte to no towne of Arsyn, for there the kyng was mynded to lye a day or two, to take advyce howe he myght passe the ryver of Some, for it was necessarie for hym to passe the ryver, as ye shall here after.

[1] *Corbie.*

CAP. CXXVI

How the French kyng folowed the kyng of Englande into Beauvoysinoys.

NOWE lette us speke of kyng Philyppe, who was at saynt Denyse and his people aboute hym, and dayly encreased. Thane on a day he departed, and rode so longe that he came to Coppygny du Guyse,[1] a thre leages fro Amyense, and there he taryed. The kyng of Englande beyng at Araynes, wyst nat where for to passe the ryver of Some, the which was large and depe, and all briges were broken and the passages well kept. Than at the kynges commaundement his two marshals with M. men of armes and two M. archers, went along the ryver to fynde some passag, and passed by Longpre, and came to the bridge of Atheny,[2] the which was well kept with a gret nombre of knyghtes and squyers and men of the countrey. The Englysshmen alyghted a fote and assayled the Frenchmen from the mornynge tyll it was noone; but the bridge was so well fortifyed and defended, that the Englysshmen departed without wynning of any thynge. Than they went to a great towne called Fountayns on the ryver of Somme, the which was clene robbed and brent, for it was nat closed. Than they went to another towne called Longe in Ponthieu; they coulde nat wynne the bridge, it was so well kept and defended. Than they departed and went to Pyqueny, and founde the towne, the bridge, and the castell so well fortifyed, that it was nat lykely to passe there; the Frenche kyng hadde so well defended the passages, to thentent that the kyng of Englande shulde nat passe the ryver of Somme to fight with hym at his advauntage or els to famysshe hym there. Whane these two marshals had assayed in all places to fynde passage and coude fynde none, they retourned agayne to the king, and shewed howe they coude fynde no passage in no place; the same night the Frenche kynge came to Amyense, with mo than a hundred M. men. The kynge of Englande was right pensyfe, and the next morning harde masse before the sonne rysinge and than dysloged; and

[1] *Coppegueule.*

[2] *Pont-Rémy.*

CAP. CXXVI

How the French kyng folowed the kyng of Englande in Beauvoysinoys.

every man folowed the marshals baners, and so rode in the countrey of Vimewe, aprochynge to the good towne of Abvyle, and founde a towne therby, wherunto was come moche people of the countrey in trust of a lytell defence that was there; but thenglysshmen anone wanne it, and all they that were within slayne, and many taken of the towne and of the countrey; the kynge toke his lodgynge in a great hospytall that was there. The same day the Frenche kynge departed fro Amyense, and came to Araynes about noone, and thenglysshmen were departed thense in the mornyng. The Frenchmen founde there great provisyon that the Englysshmen had left behynde them, bycause they departed in hast; there they founde flesshe redy on the broches, brede and pastyes in the ovyns, wyne in tonnes and barelles, and the tabuls redy layed. There the Frenche kyng lodged and taryed for his lordes: that nyght the kyng of England was lodged at Osyement. At nyght whane the two marshalles were retourned, (who had that day overronne the countrey to the gates of Abvyl and to saynt Valery, and made a great skirmysshe there,) than the kynge assembled togyder his counsayle and made to be brought before hym certayne prisoners of the countrey of Ponthieu and of Vymeu. The kyng right curtesly demaunded of theym if ther were any among them that knewe any passage byneth Abvyle, that he and his hoost might passe over the ryver of Somme; yf he wolde shewe hym therof, he shulde be quyte of his raunsome, and xx. of his company for his love. Ther was a varlet called Gobyn a Grace, who stept forthe and sayde to the kyng, Sir, I promyse you on the jeopardy of my heed I shall bringe you to suche a place, where as ye and all your hoost shall passe the ryver of Some without paryll. There be certayne places in the passage that ye shall passe xii. men a front two tymes bytwene day and nyght, ye shall nat go in the water to the knees: but whan the fludde cometh, the ryver than waxeth so gret, that no man can passe; but whan the fludde is gon, the whiche is two tymes bytwene day and nyght, than the ryver is so lowe that it may be passed without danger, bothe a horsebacke and a fote. The passage is harde in the botom with whyte stones, so that all your caryage may go surely; therfore the passage

is called Blanch Taque; and ye make redy to departe be tymes, ye may be ther by the sonne rysinge. The kynge sayde, If this be trewe that ye say, I quyte thee thy raunsome and all thy company, and moreover shall gyve thee a hundred nobles: than the kynge commaunded every man to be redy at the sounde of the trumpette to departe.

CAP. CXXVI
How the French kyng folowed the kyng of Englande in Beauvoysinoys.

CAP. CXXVII

Of the batayle of Blanchtaque bytwene the kyng of Englande and sir Godmar du Fay.

THE kyng of Englande slepte nat moche that nyght, for atte mydnight he arose and sowned his trumpette; than incontynent they made redy caryages and all thynges, and atte the brekynge of the day they departed fro the towne of Oysement, and rode after the guydinge of Gobyn a Grace, so that they came by the sonne rysing to Blanch Taque; but as than the fludde was uppe so that they might nat passe; so the kynge taryed there tyll it was prime, than the ebbe came. The Frenche kyng had his currours in the countrey, who brought hym worde of the demeanoure of the Englysshmen; than he thought to close the kyng of Englande bytwene Abvyle and the ryver of Some, and so to fyght with hym at his pleasure. And whan he was at Amyense he had ordayned a great barowne of Normandy, called sir Godmar du Fay, to go and kepe the passage of Blanche Taque, where the Englysshmen must passe, or els in none other place. He had with hym M. men of armes and sixe thousand a fote, with the Genowayes; soo they went by saynt Reyngnyer[1] in Ponthieu, and fro thens to Crotay, wher as the passage lay; and also he had with hym a great nombre of men of the countrey, and also a great nombre of theym of Mutterell;[2] so that they were a twelfe thousand men one and other. Whan the Englysshe hoost was come thyder, sir Godmar du Fay araunged all his company to defende the passage: the kyng of England lette nat for all that; but whane the fludde was gone, he commaunded his marshals to entre into the water in the name of God and saynt George. Than they that were hardy and

[1] *Riquier.*

[2] *Montreuil.*

CAP. CXXVII

Of the batayle of Blanch-taque.

coragyous entred on bothe parties, and many a man reversed; ther were some of the Frenchmen of Arthoyes and Pycardy, that were as gladde to juste in the water as on the drie lande. The Frenchemen defended so well the passage at the yssuing out of the water, that they had moche to do: the Genowayes dyde them great trouble with their crosbowes; on thother syde the archers of Englande shotte so holly togyder, that the Frenchmen were fayne to gyve place to the Englysshmen. There was a sore batayle, and many a noble feate of armes done on both sydes; finally thenglysshmen passed over and assembled togyder in the felde; the kynge and the prince passed and all the lordes: than the Frenchmen kept none array, but departed he that myght best. Whan sir Godmar sawe that dysconfiture, he fledde and saved hymselfe; some fledde to Abvyle and some to saynt Raygnyer; they that were there a fote coude nat flee, so that ther were slayne a great nombre of them of Abvyle, Muttrell, Arras, and of saynt Raygnier: the chase endured more than a great leag. And as yet all the Englysshmen were nat passed the ryver, and certayne currours of the kyng of Behayne and of sir John of Heynault came on them that were behynd, and toke certayn horses and caryages and slewe dyvers or they coude take the passage. The French kyng the same mornynge was departed fro Araynes, trustyng to have founde thenglysshmen bytwene hym and the ryver of Some; but whan he harde howe that sir Godmar du Fay and his company were dysconfyted, he taryed in the felde and demaunded of his marshals what was best to do. They sayd, Sir, ye can nat passe the ryver but at the brige of Abvyll, for the fludde is come in at Blanche taque. Than he retourned and lodged at Abvyle. The kyng of Englande whan he was past the ryver, he thanked God, and so rode forthe in lyke maner as he dyde before. Than he called Gobyn a Grace, and dyd quyte hym his ransome and all his company, and gave hym a hundred nobles and a good horse. And so the kynge rode forthe fayre and easely, and thought to have lodged in a great town called Norell; but whan he knewe that the towne pertayned to the countesse of Dammerle,[1] suster to the lorde Robert of Arthoys, the kyng assured the towne and countrey as moche as pertayned to

[1] *d'Aumale.*

CAP. CXXVII

Of the batayle of Blanchtaque.

her, and so went forthe; and his marshalles rode to Crotay on the see syde and brent the towne, and founde in the havyn many shippes and barkes charged with wynes of Poyctou,[1] pertayning to the marchauntes of Xaynton and of Rochell: they brought the best therof to the kynges host. Than one of the marshals rode to the gates of Abvyle, and fro thens to saynt Reygnier, and after to the towne of Rue saynt Esperyte. This was on a Friday, and bothe batayls of the marshals retourned to the kynges hoost about noone, and so lodged all toguyder nere to Cressy in Ponthieu. The kynge of Englande was well enfourmed howe the Frenche kyng folowed after hym to fight. Than he sayd to his company, Lette us take here some plotte of grounde, for we wyll go no farther tylle we have sene our ennemyes; I have good cause here to abyde them, for I am on the ryght herytage of the quene my mother, the which lande was gyven at her maryage; I woll chalenge it of myne adversary Philyppe of Valoys. And bycause that he had nat the eyght part in nombre of men as the Frenche kyng had, therfore he commaunded his marshals to chose a plotte of grounde somwhat for his advauntage; and so they dyde, and thyder the kynge and his hoost went; than he sende his currours to Abvyle, to se if the Frenche kyng drewe that day into the felde or natte. They went forthe and retourned agayne, and sayde howe they coude se none aparence of his commyng; than every man toke their lodgyng for that day, and to be redy in the mornynge, at the sound of the trumpet, in the same place. This Friday the Frenche kynge taryed styll in Abvyle abyding for his company, and sende his two marshals to ryde out to se the dealyng of thenglysshmen; and at nyght they retourned, and sayde howe the Englysshmen were lodged in the feldes. That nyght the Frenche kyng made a supper to all the chefe lordes that were ther with hym; and after supper, the kyng desyred them to be frendes ech to other: the kyng loked for the erle of Savoy, who shulde come to hym with a thousande speares, for he had receyved wages for a thre monethes of them at Troy in Campaigne.

[1] *Ponthieu* P.

CAP. CXXVIII

Of the order of the Englysshmen at Cressy, and howe they made thre batayls a fote.

ON the Friday, as I sayd before, the kyng of Englande lay in the feldes, for the contrey was plentyfull of wynes and other vytayle, and if nede had ben, they had provisyon folowyng in cartes and other caryages. That night the kyng made a supper to all his chefe lordes of his hoost and made them gode chere: and whan they were all departed to take their rest, than the kynge entred into his oratorie, and kneled downe before the auter, prayeng God devoutly, that if he fought the next day, that he might achyve the journey to his honour; than aboute mydnight he layde hym downe to rest, and in the mornynge he rose betymes and harde masse, and the prince his sonne with hym, and the moste part of his company were confessed and houseled: and after the masse sayde, he commaunded every man to be armed and to drawe to the felde to the same place before apoynted. Than the kyng caused a parke to be made by the wode syde behynde his hoost, and ther was set all cartes and caryages, and within the parke were all their horses, for every man was a fote; and into this parke there was but one entre. Than he ordayned thre batayls; in the first was the yonge prince of Wales, with hym the erle of Warwyke and Canforde,[1] the lorde Godfray of Harecourt, sir Reynolde Cobham, sir Thomas Holande, the lorde Stafforde, the lorde of Manny,[2] the lorde Dalaware, sir John Chandos, sir Bartylmewe de Bomes,[3] sir Robert Nevyll, the lorde Thomas Clyfforde, the lorde Bourchier, the lorde de la Tumyer,[4] and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers that I can nat name; they wer an viii. hundred men of armes and two thousande archers, and a thousande of other with the Walsshmen: every lorde drue to the felde apoynted, under his owne baner and penone. In the second batayle was therle of Northampton, the erle of Arundell, the lorde Rosse, the lorde Lygo,[5] the lorde Wylloughby, the lorde Basset, the lorde of saynt Aubyne, sir Loyes Tueton, the

[1] *Oxford.*
[2] *Mohun.*
[3] *Burghersh.*
[4] *Latimer.*
[5] *Lucy.*

lorde of Myleton, the lorde de la Sell, and dyvers other, about an eight hundred men of armes and twelfe hundred archers. The thirde batayle had the kyng: he had sevyn hundred men of armes and two thousande archers: than the kyng lept on a hobby, with a whyte rodde in his hand, one of his marshals on the one hande and the other on the other hand; he rode fro renke to renke, desyringe every man to take hede that day to his right and honour. He spake it so swetely, and with so good countenance and mery chere, that all suche as were dysconfited toke courage in the seyng and heryng of hym. And whan he had thus visyted all his batayls, it was than nyne of the day; than he caused every man to eate and drinke a lytell, and so they dyde at their leaser. And afterwarde they ordred agayne their batayllles: than every man lay downe on the yerth and by hym his salet and bowe, to be the more fressher whan their ennemyes shulde come.

CAP. CXXVIII

Of the order of the Englysshmen at Cressy.

CAP. CXXIX

Thorder of the Frenchmen at Cressy, and howe they behelde the demeanour of thenglysshmen.

THIS Saturday the Frenche kynge rose betymes, and harde masse in Abvyle in his lodgyng in the abbey of saynt Peter, and he departed after the sonne rysing. Whan he was out of the towne two leages, aprochyng towarde his ennemyes, some of his lordes sayd to hym, Sir, it were good that ye ordred your batayls, and let all your fotemen passe somwhat on before, that they be nat troubled with the horsemen. Than the kyng sent iiii. knyghtes, the Moyne Bastell, the lorde of Noyers, the lorde of Beaujewe, and the lorde Dambegny to ryde to aviewe thenglysshe hoste, and so they rode so nere that they might well se part of their dealyng. Thenglysshmen sawe them well and knewe well howe they were come thyder to avieu them; they let them alone and made no countenance towarde them, and let them retourne as they came. And whan the Frenche kyng sawe these foure knyghtes retourne agayne, he taryed tyll they came to hym, and sayd, Sirs, what tidynges.

CAP. CXXIX

Thorder of the Frenchmen at Cressy.

These four knyghtes eche of them loked on other, for ther was none wolde speke before his companyon; finally, the kyng sayd to Moyne, who pertayned to the kyng of Behaygne, and had done in his dayes so moch, that he was reputed for one of the valyantest knyghtes of the worlde, Sir, speke you. Than he sayd, Sir, I shall speke, syth it pleaseth you, under the correction of my felawes; sir, we have ryden and sene the behavyng of your ennemyes; knowe ye for trouth they are rested in thre batayls abidyng for you. Sir, I woll counsell you as for my part, savynge your dyspleasure, that you and all your company rest here and lodg for this nyght, for or they that be behynde of your company be come hyther, and or your batayls be set in gode order, it wyll be very late, and your people be wery and out of array, and ye shall fynde your ennemis fresshe and redy to receyve you. Erly in the mornynge ye may order your bataylles at more leaser, and advyse your ennemis at more delyberacyon, and to regarde well what way ye woll assayle theym, for sir, surely they woll abyde you. Than the kynge commaunded that it shuld be so done; than his ii. marshals one rode before, another behynde, sayeng to every baner, Tary and abyde here in the name of God and saynt Denys. They that were formast taryed, but they that were behynde wolde nat tary, but rode forthe, and sayd howe they wolde in no wyse abyde tyll they were as ferr forward as the formast: and whan they before sawe them come on behynde, than they rode forward agayne, so that the kyng nor his marshals coude nat rule them. So they rode without order or good aray, tyll they came in sight of their ennemyes; and assone as the formast sawe them, they reculed them abacke without good aray; wherof they behynde had marvell and were abasshed, and thought that the formast company had ben fightynge; than they might have had leaser and rome to have gone forwarde if they had lyst; some went forthe, and some abode styll. The commons, of whom all the wayes bytwene Abvyle and Cressy were full, whan they sawe that they were nere to their ennemies, they toke their swerdes, and cryed Downe with them, let us sle them all. Ther was no man, though he were present at the journey, that coude ymagen or shewe the trouth of the

yvell order that was among the Frenche partie, and yet they were a mervelous great nombre. That I write in this boke I lerned it specially of the Englysshmen, who well behelde their dealyng; and also certayne knyghtes of sir Johan of Heynaultes, who was alwayes about kyng Philyppe, shewed me as they knewe. CAP. CXXIX Thorder of the Frenchmen at Cressy.

CAP. CXXX

Of the batayle of Cressy bytwene the kyng of England and the Frenche kyng.

THENGLYSSHMEN who were in thre batayls, lyeng on the grounde to rest them, assone as they saw the Frenchmen aproche, they rose upon their fete fayre and easely without any hast, and aranged their batayls: the first, which was the princes batell, the archers there stode in maner of a herse and the men of armes in the botome of the batayle. Therle of Northampton and therle of Arundell with the second batell were on a wyng in good order, redy to confort the princes batayle, if nede were. The lordes and knyghtes of France came nat to the assemble togyder in good order, for some came before and some came after, in such hast and yvell order, that one of them dyd trouble another. Whan the French kyng sawe the Englysshmen, his blode chaunged, and sayde to his marshals, Make the Genowayes go on before, and begynne the batayle in the name of God and saynt Denyse. Ther were of the Genowayes crosbowes, about a fiftene thousand, but they were so wery of goyng a fote that day a six leages armed with their crosbowes, that they sayde to their constables, We be nat well ordred to fyght this day, for we be nat in the case to do any great dede of armes, we have more nede of rest. These wordes came to the erle of Alanson, who sayd, A man is well at ease to be charged with suche a sorte of rascalles, to be faynt and fayle nowe at moost nede. Also the same season there fell a great rayne and a clyps with a terryble thonder, and before the rayne ther came fleyng over bothe batayls a great nombre of crowes, for feare of the tempest commynge. Than anone the eyre beganne to

CAP. CXXX
Of the batayle of Cressy.

waxe clere, and the sonne to shyne fayre and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmens eyen and on the Englysshmens backes. Whan the Genowayes were assembled toguyder, and beganne to aproche, they made a great leape and crye to abasshe thenglysshmen, but they stode styll and styredde nat for all that. Thane the Genowayes agayne the seconde tyme made another leape and a fell crye, and stepped forwarde a lytell, and thenglysshmen remeved nat one fote. Thirdly, agayne they leapt and cryed, and went forthe tyll they came within shotte: thane they shotte feersly with their crosbowes. Than thenglysshe archers stept forthe one pase, and lette fly their arowes so holly and so thycke, that it semed snowe. Whan the Genowayes felte the arowes persynge through heedes, armes and brestes, many of them cast downe their crosbowes and dyde cutte their strynges, and retourned dysconfited. Whan the Frenche kynge sawe them flye away, he sayd, Slee these rascals, for they shall lette and trouble us without reason. Than ye shulde have sene the men of armes dasshe in amonge them and kylled a great nombre of them; and ever styll the Englysshmen shot where as they sawe thyckest preace: the sharpe arowes ranne into the men of armes and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, amonge the Genowayes, and whan they were downe, they coude nat relyve agayne, the preace was so thycke that one overthrewe another. And also amonge the Englysshemen there were certayne rascalles that went a fote with great knyves, and they went in among the men of armes, and slewe and murdredde many as they lay on the grounde, bothe erles, barownes, knyghtes, and squyers, wherof the kyng of Englande was after dyspleased, for he had rather they had bene taken prisoners. The valyant kyng of Behaygne, called Charles of Luzenbourge, sonne to the noble emperour Henry of Luzenbourge, for all that he was nyghe blynde, whan he understode the order of the batayle, he sayde to them about hym, Where is the lorde Charles my son. His men sayde, Sir, we can nat tell, we thynke he be fightynge. Than he sayde, Sirs, ye ar my men, my companyons, and frendes in this journey, I requyre you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may stryke one stroke with my swerde. They sayde they wolde do his commaunde-

ment, and to the intent that they shulde nat lese hym in the prease, they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles eche to other, and sette the kynge before to acomplysshe his desyre, and so thei went on their ennemyes. The lorde Charles of Behaygne his sonne, who wrote hymselfe kyng of Almaygne,[1] and bare the armes, he came in good order to the batayle; but whane he sawe that the matter wente awrie on their partie, he departed, I can nat tell you whiche waye. The kynge his father was so farre forewarde, that he strake a stroke with his swerde, ye and mo than foure, and fought valyantly and so dyde his company; and they adventured themselfe so forwarde, that they were ther all slayne, and the next day they were founde in the place about the kyng, and all their horses tyed eche to other. The erle of Alansone came to the batayle right ordynatly and fought with thenglysshmen; and the erle of Flaunders also on his parte; these two lordes with their companyes coosted the Englysshe archers and came to the princes batayle, and there fought valyantly longe. The Frenche kynge wolde fayne have come thyder whanne he sawe their baners, but there was a great hedge of archers before hym. The same day the Frenche kynge hadde gyven a great blacke courser to sir Johan of Heynault, and he made the lorde Johan of Fussels[2] to ryde on hym, and to bere his banerre. The same horse tooke the bridell in the tethe, and brought hym through all the currours of thenglysshmen, and as he wolde have retourned agayne, he fell in a great dyke and was sore hurt, and had ben ther deed, and his page had nat ben, who folowed hym through all the batayls and sawe wher his maister lay in the dyke, and had none other lette but for his horse, for thenglysshmen wolde nat yssue out of their batayle, for takyng of any prisoner; thane the page alyghted and relyved his maister; than he went nat backe agayn the same way that they came, there was to many in his way. This batayle bytwene Broy and Cressy this Saturday was ryght cruell and fell, and many a feat of armes done that came nat to my knowledge. In the night dyverse knyghtes and squyers lost their maisters, and somtyme came on thenglysshmen, who receyved theym in suche wyse, that they were ever nighe slayne, for there was none taken to

CAP. CXXX
Of the batayle of Cressy.

[1] *Behaygne* P.

[2] *Senzeille.*

CAP. CXXX
Of the batayle of Cressy.

mercy nor to raunsome, for so the Englysshmen were determyned. In the mornyng the day of the batayle certayne Frenchemen and Almaygnes perforce opyned the archers of the princes batayle, and came and fought with the men of armes hande to hande. Than the seconde batayle of thenglysshmen came to socour the princes batayle, the whiche was tyme, for they had as than moche ado; and they with the prince sent a messanger to the kynge, who was on a lytell wyndmyll hyll. Than the knyght sayd to the kyng, Sir, therle of Warwyke, and therle of Canfort,[1] sir Reynolde Cobham and other, suche as be about the prince your sonne, ar feersly fought with all and are sore handled, wherfore they desyre you that you and your batayle wolle come and ayde them; for if the Frenchmen encrease, as they dout they woll, your sonne and they shall have moche ado. Than the kynge sayde, Is my sonne deed or hurt, or on the yerthe felled? No sir, quoth the knyght, but he is hardely matched, wherfore he hathe nede of your ayde. Well, sayde the kyng, retourne to hym, and to them that sent you hyther, and say to them that they sende no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my sonne is alyve; and also say to them that they suffre hym this day to wynne his spurres; for if God be pleased, I woll this journey be his and the honoure therof, and to them that be aboute hym. Than the knyght retourned agayn to them, and shewed the kynges wordes, the which gretly encouraged them, and repoyned in that they had sende to the kynge as they dyd. Sir Godfray of Harecourt wolde gladly that the erle of Harecourt his brother myght have bene saved; for he hard say by them that sawe his baner, howe that he was ther in the felde on the Frenche partie, but sir Godfray coude nat come to hym betymes, for he was slayne or he coude come at hym, and so was also the erle of Almare,[2] his nephue. In another place, the erle of Alenson, and therle of Flaunders, fought valyantly, every lorde under his owne baner; but finally, they coude nat resyst agaynst the puyssaunce of the Englysshemen, and so ther they were also slayne, and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers. Also therle Lewes of Bloyes, nephue to the Frenche kyng, and the duke of Lorayne fought under their baners, but at last they were closed in

[1] *Oxford.*

[2] *Aumale.*

among a company of Englysshmen and Walsshemen, and there were slayne, for all their prowes. Also there was slayne the erle of Ausser, therle of saynt Poule and many other. In the evenynge the Frenche kynge, who had lefte about hym no mo than a threscore persons, one and other, wherof sir John of Heynalt was one, who had remounted ones the kynge, for his horse was slayne with an arowe; than he sayde to the kynge, Sir, departe hense, for it is tyme; lese nat yourselfe wylfully; if ye have losse at this tyme, ye shall recover it agayne another season. And soo he toke the kynges horse by the bridell, and ledde hym away in a maner perforce. Than the kyng rode tyll he came to the castell of Broy. The gate was closed, bycause it was by that tyme darke; than the kynge called the captayne, who came to the walles, and sayd, Who is that calleth there this tyme of nyght. Than the kynge sayde, Opyn your gate quickely, for this is the fortune of Fraunce. The captayne knewe than it was the kyng, and opyned the gate, and let downe the bridge; than the kyng entred, and he had with hym but fyve barownes, sir Johan of Heynault, sir Charles of Momorency, the lorde of Beaujewe, the lorde Dabegny, and the lorde of Mountfort. The kynge wolde nat tary there, but dranke and departed thense about mydnyght, and so rode by suche guydes as knewe the countrey, tyll he came in the mornynge to Amyense, and there he rested. This Saturday, the Englysshemen never departed fro their batayls for chasynge of any man, but kept styll their felde, and ever defended themselfe agaynst all such as came to assayle them. This batayle ended aboute evynsonge tyme.

CAP. CXXX
Of the batayle of Cressy.

CAP. CXXXI

Howe the next day after the batell the Englysshmen disconfyted dyverse Frenchemen.

ON this Saturday, whan the nyght was come and that thenglysshmen hard no more noyse of the Frenchemen, than they reputed themselfe to have the vyctorie, and the Frenchmen to be dysconfited, slayne and fledde away. Than they made great fyers and lyghted up torchesse and candelles, bycause it was very darke; than the kyng avayled downe fro the lytell hyll where as he stode; and of all that day tyll than, his helme came never of on his heed. Than he went with all his batayle to his sonne the prince and enbrased hym in his armes and kyst hym, and sayde, Fayre sonne, God gyve you good perseverance; ye ar my good son, thus ye have aquyted you nobly; ye ar worthy to kepe a realme; the prince inclyned himselfe to the yerthe, honouryng the kyng his father. This night they thanked God for their good adventure and made no boost therof, for the kynge wolde that no manne shulde be proude or make boost, but every man humbly to thanke God. On the Sonday in the mornyng there was suche a myst, that a man myght nat se the bredethe of an acre of lande fro hym. Than there departed fro the hoost, by the commaundement of the kyng and marshalles fyve hundred speares and two thousand archers, to se if they might se any Frenchemen gathered agayne togyder in any place. The same mornyng out of Abvyle and saynt Reyngnyer in Ponthieu, the commons of Rone, and of Beaujoys,[1] yssued out of their townes, natte knowyng of the dysconfiture the day before. They met with thenglysshmen, wenyng they had bene Frenchmen; and whan thenglysshmen sawe them, they sette on them fresshly, and there was a sore batayle, but at last the Frenchemen fledde and kept none array. Their were slayne in the wayes and in hedges and busshes, mo thane sevyn thousande, and if the day had ben clere, there had never a one scaped. Anone after, another company of Frenchmen were mette by the Englysshmen, the archebysshoppe of Rone, and the

[1] *Beauvais.*

great priour of Fraunce, who also knewe nothynge of the dysconfiture the day before, for they harde that the Frenche kynge shulde a fought the same Sonday, and they were goynge thyderwarde. Whane they mette with the Englysshmen, there was a great batayle, for they were a great nombre, but they coude nat endure agaynst the Englysshmen, for they were nyghe all slayne, fewe scaped, the two lordes were slayne. This mornyng thenglysshmen mette with dyverse Frenchmen, that had loste their way on the Saturday and had layen all nyght in the feldes, and wyst nat where the kyng was nor the captayns. They were all slayne, as many as were met with; and it was shewed me, that of the commons and men a fote of the cyties and good townes of France, ther was slayne foure tymes as many as were slayne the Saturday in the great batayle.

CAP. CXXXI Howe the next day after the batell the Englysshmen disconfyted dyverse Frenchemen.

CAP. CXXXII

How the next day after the batayle of Cressey they that were deed were nombred by thenglysshmen.

THE same Sonday, as the kyng of Englande came fro masse, suche as had ben sente forthe retourned and shewed the kyng what they had sene and done, and sayde, Sir, we thinke surely ther is now no more aparence of any of our ennemyes. Than the kyng sende to serche howe many were slayne, and what they were. Sir Reynolde Cobham, and sir Richard Stafforde with thre haraldes went to serche the felde and contrey; they visyted all them that were slayne and rode all day in the feldes, and retourned agayne to the hoost as the kyng was goynge to supper: they made just report of that they had sene, and sayde howe ther were xi. great princes deed, fourscore baners, xii. C. knyghtes, and mo than xxx. thousande other. Thenglysshmen kept styll their felde all that nyght; on the Monday in the mornyng the kyng prepared to depart. The kyng caused the deed bodyes of the great lordes to be taken up, and conveyed to Mutterell, and there buryed in holy grounde, and made a crye in the countrey to graunt truse for thre dayes, to thyntent that

CAP. CXXXII

How the next day after the batayle of Cressey they that were deed were nombred by thenglysshmen.

they of the countrey might serche the felde of Cressy to bury the deed bodyes. Than the kynge went forthe and came before the towne of Muttrell, by the see, and his marshals ranne towarde Hedyn and brent Vambam,[1] and Seram, but they dyd nothyng to the castell, it was so strong and so well kept; they lodged that night on the ryver of Hedyn, towardes Blangy. The next day they rode towarde Bolayne and came to the towne of Wysame,[2] there the kyng and the prince lodged, and taryed there a day to refresshe his men; and on the Wednysday the kyng came before the stronge towne of Calys.

[1] *Waben.*

[2] *Wissant.*

CAP. CXXXIII

Howe the kyng of Englande layd siege to Calys, and howe all the poore people were put out of the towne.

IN the towne of Calys ther was captayne a knyght of Burgone, called sir John de Vien, and with hym was sir Andrewe Dandrehen, sir John de Sury, sir Bardon de Belborne, sir Godfray de Lament,[3] sir Pepyn de Urmue,[4] and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers. Whan the kyng of England was come before Calys, he layd his siege and ordayned bastides bytwene the towne and the ryver; he made carpenters to make houses and lodgynges of great tymbre, and set the houses lyke stretes and coverd them with rede and brome, so that it was lyke a lytell towne; and there was every thynge to sell, and a markette place to be kept every Tuesday and Saturday for flesshe and fyssh, mercery ware, houses for cloth, for bredde, wyne, and all other thynges necessarie, such as came out of England or out of Flanders; ther they might bye what they lyst. Thenglysshmen ran often tymes into the countrey of Guynes, and into Trivynois,[5] and to the gates of saynt Omers, and somtyme to Boleyn: they brought into their hoost great prayes. The kyng wolde nat assayle the towne of Calys, for he thought it but a lost labour; he spared his peple and his artillery, and sayd, howe he wolde famysshe them in the towne with long siege, without the French kyng come and

[3] *De la Motte.*

[4] *Wierre.*

[5] *Ternois.*

reyse his siege perforce. Whan the capten of Calys sawe the maner and thorder of thenglysshmen, than he constrayned all poore and meane peple to yssue out of the towne: and on a Wednysday ther yssued out of men, women, and chyldren, mo than xvii. C. and as they passed through the hoost they were demaunded why they departed, and they answered and sayde, bycause they had nothyng to lyve on. Than the kyng dyd them that grace, that he suffred them to passe through his host without danger, and gave them mete and drinke to dyner, and every person ii.d. sterlyng in almes, for the which dyvers many of them prayed for the kynges prosperyte.

CAP. CXXXIII

Howe the kyng of Englande layd siege to Calys.

CAP. CXXXIIII

Howe the duke of Normandy brake up his siege before Aguyllon.

THE duke of Normandy beyng at sege before the strong castell of Aguyllon, so it was that about the myddes of Auguste, he made a great assaut to the castell so that the most part of his host were at the assaut. Thyder was come newely the lorde Philyp of Burgone, erle of Arthoys and of Bolone, and cosyn germayn to the duke of Normandy. He was as than a yong lusty knyght, and assone as the skirmyssh was begon, he toke his horse with the spurres, and came on the skirmysshe warde, and the horse toke the bytte in his teth, and bare away his maister, and stumbled in a dyke and fell horse and man: the knyght was so brosed with the fall, that he had never helthe after, but dyed of the same hurt. Than anone after the Frenche kyng sent for his sonne the duke of Normandy, commaundynge hym in any wyse to breke up his siege before Aguyllon, and to retourne into Fraunce, to defende his herytage fro thenglysshmen; and therupon the duke toke counsayle of the lordes that were there with hym what was best to do, for he hadde promysed nat to depart thens tyll he had wone the castell, but the lordes counsayled hym, sythe the kynge his father had sende for hym to depart. Than the next day betymes the Frenchemen trussed bagge and baggage in great hast, and departed

CAP. CXXXIIII

Howe the duke of Normandy brake up his siege before Aguyllon.

towarde France: than they that were within the fortresse yssued out with the penon of the lorde Gaultiers of Manny before them; they dasshed in amonge the hynder company of the Frenchemen, and slewe and toke dyverse of theym, to the nombre of threscore, and brought them into their fortres, and by those prisoners they knewe of the journey that the kynge of Englande had made that season into Fraunce, and howe that he lay at siege before Calys.

Or the French kyng departed fro Amyense to Parys warde after the batayle of Cressy, he was so sore dyspleasedde with sir Godmar du Fay, bycause the kynge sayd he dyd nat his dever truely in kepyng of the passage of Blanch taque wher as thenglysshmen passed over the ryver of Some, so that if the French king coud a gette hym in that hete, it wold have cost hym his heed: and dyvers of the kynges counsell wolde that he shuld a dyed, and sayd he was a tretor, and causer of that great losse that the kynge had at Cressy. But sir John of Heynault excused hym and refrayned the kynges yvell wyll, for he sayd howe coulde it lye in his power to resyst the hole puysance of thenglysshmen, whan all the floure of the realme of Fraunce togyder coude nat resyst them. Than anone after came to the kynge and to the quene the duke of Normandy who was well receyved with them.

CAP. CXXXV

Howe sir Gaultier of Manny rode through all Fraunce by save conduct to Calys.

IT was nat long after, but that sir Gaultier of Manny fell in communycation with a knyght of Normandy, who was his prisoner, and demaunded of hym what money he wolde pay for his raunsome. The knyght answered and sayde he wolde gladly pay thre M. crownes. Well, quoth the lorde Gaultyer, I knowe well ye be kynne to the duke of Normandy and wel beloved with hym, that I am sure, and if I wolde sore oppresse you, I am sure ye wolde gladly pay x. thousand crownes, but I shall deale otherwyse with you. I woll trust you on your faythe and promyse; ye shall go to the duke your lorde, and by your

CAP. CXXXV

Howe sir Gaultier of Manny rode through all Fraunce by save conduct to Calys.

meanes gette a save conduct for me and xx. other of my company to ryde through Fraunce to Calys, payeng curtesly for all our expenses. And if ye can get this of the duke or of the kyng, I shall clerely quyte you your ransome with moche thanke, for I greatly desyre to se the kynge my maister, nor I wyll lye but one nyght in a place, tyll I come there; and if ye can nat do this, retourne agayn hyder within a moneth, and yelde yourself styll as my prisoner. The knyght was content and so went to Parys to the duke his lorde, and he obtayned this pasport for sir Gaultier of Manny, and xx. horse with hym all onely: this knyght retourned to Aguyllon, and brought it to sir Gaultier, and ther he quyted the knyght Norman of his raunsome. Than anone after, sir Gaultier toke his way and xx. horse with hym, and so rode through Auvergne and whan he taryed in any place, he shewed his letter and so was lette passe but whan he came to Orleaunce, for all his letter he was arested and brought to Parys, and there put in prison in the Chatelet. Whan the duke of Normandy knewe therof, he went to the kynge his father and shewed him howe sir Gaultier of Manny had his save conduct, wherfore he requyred the kynge as moche as he might to delyver hym, or els it shulde be sayde howe he had betrayed hym. The kyng answered and sayd howe he shulde be put to dethe, for he reputed hym for his great ennemy. Than sayd the duke, Sir, if ye do so, surely I shall never bere armour agaynst the kynge of Englande, nor all suche as I may let. And at his departyng, he sayd, that he wolde never entre agayn into the kynges host: thus the mater stode a certayne tyme. There was a knyght of Heynalt, called sir Mansart de Sue;[1] he purchased all that he myght to helpe sir Water of Manny, and went often in and out to the duke of Normandy. Finally, the kyng was so counselled, that he was delyverd out of prison and all his costes payed: and the kynge sende for hym to his lodgyng of Nesle in Parys, and there he dyned with the kynge, and the kynge presented hym great gyftes and jewels, to the value of a thousand floreyns. Sir Gaultier of Manny receyved them on a condycion, that whan he cam to Cales, that if the kyng of Englande his maister were pleased that he shulde take them, than he was content

[1] *Mansart d'Esne.*

CAP. CXXXV

Howe sir Gaultier of Manny rode through all Fraunce by save conduct to Calys.

to kepe them, or els to sende them agayne to the Frenche kyng, who sayd he spake lyke a noble man. Thane he toke his leave and departed, and rode so long by his journeys that he came into Heynalt, and taryed at Valencennes thre dayes, and so fro thens he went to Cales, and was welcome to the kynge. But whan the kyng harde that sir Gaultier of Manny had receyved gyftes of the Frenche kynge, he sayde to hym, Sir Gaultier, ye have hytherto truely served us, and shall do, as we trust: sende agayn to kyng Philyppe the gyftes that he gave you, ye have no cause to kepe theym: we thanke God we have ynough for us and for you: we be in good purpose to do moche good for you, acordyng to the good servyce that ye have done. Thanne sir Gaultier toke all those jewels and delyverd them to a cosyn of his called Mansac,[1] and sayd, Ryde into Fraunce to the kynge there and recommend me unto hym, and say howe I thanke hym M. tymes for the gyft that he gave me, but shewe hym howe it is nat the pleasure of the kyng my maister that I shulde kepe them, therfore I sende them agayne to hym. This knyght rode to Parys and shewed all this to the kyng, who wolde nat receyve agayne the jewelles, but dyde gyve them to the same knyght sir Mansac, who thanked the kyng, and was nat in wyll to say nay.

[1] *Mansart d'Esne.*

CAP. CXXXVI

Howe therle of Derby the same seson toke in Poyctou dyvers townes and castels, and also the cyte of Poycters.

YE have harde here before howe the erle of Derby was in the cytie of Burduex, duryng the season of the siege before Aguyllone; and assone as he knewe that the duke of Normandy had broken up his siege, than he sende into Gascoyne for all his knightes and squyers that helde of the Englysshe partie. Than came to Burdeaux the lorde Dalbret, the lorde de Lanspere, the lorde of Rosam,[2] the lorde of Musydent, the lorde of Punyers, the lorde of Torton,[3] the lorde of Bouqueton, sir Amery of Trast[4] and dyvers other, so that therle had a xii. hundred

[2] *Rauzan.*
[3] *Curton.*
[4] *Tastes.*

men of armes, two thousand archers and thre thousande fotemen. They passed the ryver of Garon, bytwene Burdeaux and Blay; than they toke the way to Zaynton, and came to Myrabell, and wan the towne with assaut and the castell also, and sette therin newe captayne and soudyours. Than they rode to Alnoy and wan the castell and the towne, and after they wanne Surgeres and Benon, but the castell of Marant, a thre leages fro Rochell, they coulde nat gette. Than they went to Mortayn on the see syde in Poyctou, and toke it perforce, and made ther a garyson for them. Than thei rode to Lusignen; they brent the towne but the castell wolde nat be wonne. Than they went to Taylbourge, and wan the brige, towne and castell and slewe all that were within, bycause a knyght of theyrs was slayne in thassautyng. The countrey was so afrayed that every man fledde into stronge holdes and townes and forsoke their owne houses. They made none other aparance of defence, but all knyghtes and squyers kept them styll in their fortresses, and made no semblant to fyght with thenglysshmen. Than at last the erle of Derby came and layd siege to saynt John Dangle and made there a gret assaut, (within the towne ther were no men of warre,) tyll agaynst night, when thassaut seased. Sir Wyllyam Ryon mayre of the towne and the moost part of the burgesses sende to therle of Derby, to have a save conduct for sixe of their burgesses to come into the hoost, to treat with therle the same night or els the next day, the which was graunted. And the next mornynge these burgesses came to therles tent, and there concluded to become good Englysshmen, as long as the kyng of Englande or some other for hym, wolde kepe and defende them fro the Frenchmen. Ther therle refresshed hym in that towne thre dayes and toke homage of the burgesses there. Than the erle went to the stronge towne of Nyort, wherin was captayne the lorde Guysharde Dangle; ther therle made thre assautes, but nothyng coude he wynne. Than they departed thens and went to Burge saynt Maxymien,[1] the which was wonne perforce and all that were within slayne. After they went to Monstrell Boyvin,[2] wherin ther were a two hundred money makers that forged there money for the French kyng: they sayde they wolde nat

CAP. CXXXVI

Howe therle of Derby toke in Poyctou dyvers townes and castels.

[1] *St. Maixent.*

[2] *Montreuil Bonnin.*

CAP. CXXXVI

Howe therle of Derby toke in Poyctou dyvers townes and castels.

yelde up but defende the towne: but there was made suche a feerse assaut, that it was won and all they within slayne. Therle newe fortifyed the castell, and made there a garyson. Than the erle came before the cytie of Poycters the whiche was great and large: the erle besieged it on the one syde, for he had nat nombre sufficyent to lay rounde about. Incontynent they made assaut, and they of the cytie who were a great nombre of meane people, nat very mete for the warre, they defended themselfe so well at that tyme, that they toke but lytell damage: the assaut ceased and every man went to his logynge. The next day certayne knyghtes of the host toke their horses and rode about the towne, and returned and made report to therle of that they had sene; than they determyned the nexte day to assaut the cytie in thre places, and the greattest nombre to assaut wher as was the wekest place of the cytie, and thus it was done. And as than in the towne ther was no knight that knewe what ment any feate of warr, nor the people were nat expert in dedes of armes, to knowe howe to defende assautes, so in the wekyst place thenglysshmen entred. Whan they within sawe the towne wonne they fledde away out at other gates, but ther were slayne a vii. hundred for all were put to the swerde, men, women and chyldren, and the cytie overron and robbed, the whiche was full of great richesse as well of thynhabytauntes, as of them of the countrey that were come thyder for surety. Dyvers churches were there distroyed and many yvell dedes done, and mo had ben done, and therle had nat ben: for he commaunded on payne of dethe, no man to brenne no churche nor house, for he sayde he wolde tary there a ten or xii. dayes, so that therby part of the yvell dedes were seased, but for all that there was roberyes ynough. Therle lay ther a xii. dayes and lengar myght have done, if it had pleased hym, for ther was none to resyst hym; all the contrey trymbled for feare of hym. Than therle departed to Poycters and left it voyde, for it was to great to be kept: at their departyng, they had so moche rychesse, that they wyst natte what to do therwith: they sette by nothynge but golde and sylver and fethers for men of warre. Thanne they retourned by small journeys to saynt Johan Dangle; there therle rested hym a certayne

space, and thenglysshmen gave many good juels to the ladyes and damosels of the towne, and so dyd therle hymself, and made every day gret dyners, suppers, and bankettes, and made great revell and sport among them; he achyved suche grace among them there, that they sayd he was the moost noble prince that ever rode on horsebacke. Than he toke his leave of them, and made the mayre and the burgesses to renewe their othe and to kepe the towne as the ryght herytage of the kyng of Englande. Than the erle retourned by suche fortresses as he had wonne tyll he came to the cytie of Bourdeaux: than he gave leave every man to depart and thanked them of their good servyce.

CAP. CXXXVI
Howe therle of Derby toke in Poyctou dyvers townes and castels.

CAP. CXXXVII

How the kyng of Scottes duryng the siege before Calys came into England with a gret host.

IT is longe nowe syth we spake of kyng Davyd of Scotlande; howebeit tyll nowe there was none occasion why, for the trewse that was takenne was well and trewly kept; so that whan the kynge of Englande had besieged Calays and lay there, than the Scottes determyned to make warre into Englande and to be revenged of such hurtes as they had taken before: for they sayde than howe that the realme of Englande was voyde of men of warr, for they were, as they sayd, with the kyng of Englande before Calys, and some in Bretaygne, Poyctou, and Gascoyne. The Frenche kyng dyd what he coude to styrre the Scottes to that warre, to the entent that the kynge of Englande shulde breke up his siege and retourne to defende his owne realme. The kynge of Scottes made his sommons to be at saynt Johns towne on the ryver of Tay in Scotlande; thyder came erles, barownes and prelates of Scotlande, and there agreed that in all haste possyble they shulde entre into Englande. To come in that journey was desyred Johan of the Out Iles, who governed the wylde Scottes, for to hym they obeyed and to no man els; he came with a thre thousande of the moost outragyoust people in all that countrey. Whan all the Scottes were assembled, they were of one and other, a

CAP. CXXXVII

How the kyng of Scottes came into England with a gret host.

fyftie thousande fightynge menne. They coude nat make their assemble soo secrete but that the quene of Englande, who was as thanne in the marchesse of the Northe about Yorke, knewe all their dealynge: thane she sent all about for menne and lay herselfe at Yorke; than all men of warre and archers came to Newcastell with the quene. In the meane season the kyng of Scottes departed fro saynt Johannes towne and wente to Done Fremelyne, the firste day. The nexte day they passed a lytell arme of the see and so came to Estermelyne, and than to Edenbrough. Than they nombred their company, and they were a thre thousande men of armes, knyghtes and squyers, and a thretie thousande of other, on hackenayes: thanne they came to Rousbourg, the first fortresse Englysshe on that parte; captayne there was sir Wyllyam Montague. The Scottes passed by without any assaut makynge, and so went forthe brennynge and distroyenge the countrey of Northumberlande; and their currours ranne to Yorke, and brent as moche as was without the walles, and retourned agayne to their host within a dayes journey of Newcastell upon Tyne.

CAP. CXXXVIII

Of the batayle of Newcastell upon Tyne bytwene the quene of England and the kyng of Scottes.

THE quene of England, who desyred to defende her contrey, came to Newcastell upon Tyne and there taryed for her men, who came dayly fro all partes. Whan the Scottes knewe that the Englysshemen assembled at Newcastell, they drue thyderwarde and their currours came rennynge before the towne; and at their retournynge they brent certayne small hamelettes there about, so that the smoke therof came into the towne of Newcastell: some of the Englysshmen wolde a yssued out to have fought with them that made the fyers, but the captayns wolde nat suffre theym to yssue out. The next day the kyng of Scottes, with a xl. thousande men, one and other, came and lodged within thre lytell Englysshe myle of Newcastell in the lande

CAP. CXXXVIII

Of the batayle of Newcastell upon Tyne.

of the lorde Nevyll, and the kyng sent to them within the towne, that if they wolde yssue out into the felde, he wolde fyght with theym gladly. The lordes and prelates of England sayd they were content to adventure their lyves with the ryght and herytage of the kynge of Englande their maister; than they all yssued out of the towne, and were in nombre a twelfe hundred men of armes, thre thousand archers, and sevyne thousande of other, with the Walsshmen. Than the Scottes came and lodged agaynst theym nere togyder: than every man was sette in order of batayle: than the quene came among her men and there was ordayned four batayls, one to ayde another. The firste had in governaunce the bysshoppe of Dyrham and the lorde Percy: the seconde the archbysshoppe of Yorke and the lorde Nevyll: the thyrde the bysshoppe of Lyncolne, and the lorde Mombray: the fourth the lorde Edwarde de Baylleule, captayne of Berwyke, the archbysshoppe of Canterbury and the lorde Rose: every batayle had lyke nombre, after their quantyte. The quene went fro batayle to batayle desyring them to do their devoyre to defende the honoure of her lorde the kyng of Englande, and in the name of God every man to be of good hert and courage, promysyng them that to her power she wolde remembre theym as well or better as thoughe her lorde the kyng were ther personally. Than the quene departed fro them, recommendyng them to God and to saynt George. Than anone after, the bataylles of the Scottes began to set forwarde, and in lykewyse so dyd thenglysshmen. Than the archers began to shote on bothe parties, but the shot of the Scottes endured but a short space, but the archers of Englande shot so feersly, so that whan the batayls aproched, there was a harde batell. They began at nyne and endured tyll noone: the Scottes had great axes sharpe and harde, and gave with them many great strokes; howbeit finally thenglysshmen obtayned the place and vyctorie, but they lost many of their men. There were slayne of the Scottes, therle of Sys,[1] therle of Ostre,[2] therle of Mare, therle John Duglas, and the lorde Alysaunder Ramsey, who bare the kynges baner, and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers. And there the kynge was taken, who fought

[1] *Fife.*
[2] *Buchan.*
[3] *Strathern.*

CAP. CXXXVIII

Of the batayle of Newcastell upon Tyne.

valiantly, and was sore hurt; a squyer of Northumberland toke hym, called John Coplande, and assone as he had taken the kynge, he went with hym out of the felde, with viii. of his servauntes with hym, and soo rode all that day, tyll he was a fyftene leages fro the place of the batayle, and at nyght he came to a castell called Orgulus;[1] and than he sayde he wolde nat delyver the kyng of Scottes to no man nor woman lyveyng, but all onely to the kynge of Englande, his lorde. The same day there was also taken in the felde the erle Morette, the erle of Marche, the lorde Wyllyam Duglas, the lorde Robert Vesy, the bysshoppe of Dadudame,[2] the bysshoppe of saynt Andrewes, and dyvers other knyghtes and barownes. And ther were slayne of one and other a xv. thousande, and the other saved themself as well as they might: this batell was besyde Newcastell, the yere of our lorde M.CCC. xlvi. the Saturday next after saynt Mychaell.

[1] *Ogle.*

[2] *Aberdeen.*

CAP. CXXXIX

How John Copland had the kyng of Scottes prisoner, and what profet he gatte therby.

WHAN the quene of Englande, beyng at Newcastell understode howe the journey was for her and her men, she than rode to the place where the batayle hade ben: thane it was shewed her howe the kynge of Scottes was taken by a squyer called John Coplande, and he hadde caryed away the kyng no man knewe whyder. Than the quene wrote to the squyer commaundyng hym to bring his prisoner the kyng of Scottes, and howe he had nat well done to depart with hym without leave. All that day thenglysshmen taryed styll in the same place and the quene with them, and the next day they retourned to Newcastell. Whan the quenes letter was brought to Johan Coplande, he answered and sayd, that as for the kyng of Scottes his prisoner, he wolde nat delyver hym to no man nor woman lyveng, but all onely to the kynge of Englande his soverayne lorde; as for the kynge of Scottes, he sayd he shuld be savely kept, so that he wolde gyve acompte for hym. Thanne the quene sende letters to the kyng to Calays,

CAP. CXXXIX

How John Copland had the kyng of Scottes prisoner.

wherby the kyng was enfourmed of the state of his realme. Than the kyng sende incontynent to Johan Coplande, that he shulde come over the see to hym to the siege before Calays. Than the same Johan dyd putte his prisoner in save kepynge in a stronge castell, and so rode through England tyll he came to Dover, and there toke the see and arryved before Calays. Whan the kyng of Englande sawe the squyer, he toke hym by the hande and sayde, A welcome my squyer, that by your valyantnesse hath taken myne adversary, the kyng of Scottes. The squyer kneled downe and sayde, Sir, yf God by his grace have suffred me to take the king of Scottes by true conquest of armes, sir, I thynke no man ought to have any envy thereat, for as well God may sende by his grace suche a fortune to fall to a poore squyer, as to a great lorde; and sir, I requyre your grace be nat myscontent with me, though I dyde nat delyver the kynge of Scottes at the commaundement of the quene. Sir, I holde of you, as myne othe is to you, and nat to her but in all good maner. The kyng sayd, Johan, the good servyce that ye have done and your valyantnesse is so moche worthe, that hit must countervayle your trespasse and be taken for your excuse, and shame have they that bere you any yvell wyll therfore. Ye shall retourne agayne home to your house, and thane my pleasure is that ye delyver your prisoner to the quene my wyfe, and in a rewarde I assigne you nere to your house, where as ye thynke best yourselfe, fyve hundred pounde sterlyng of yerely rent to you and to your heyres for ever, and here I make you squyer for my body. Thane the thyrde day he departed and retourned agayne into Englande, and whan he came home to his owne house, he assembled toguyder his frendes and kynne, and so they toke the kyng of Scottes, and rode with hym to the cytie of Yorke, and there fro the kyng his lorde he presented the kyng of Scottes to the quene, and excused hym so largely, that the quene and her counsell were content. Than the quene made good provisyon for the cytie of Yorke, the castell of Rosbourg, the cyte of Dyrham, the towne of Newcastell upon Tyne, and in all other garysons on the marchesse of Scotlande, and left in those marchesse the lorde Percy and the lorde Nevyll, as governoure there.

CAP. CXXXIX

How John Copland had the kyng of Scottes prisoner.

Thanne the quene departed fro Yorke towardes London. Than she sette the kynge of Scottes in the strong towre of London, and therle Morette and all other prisoners, and sette good kepyng over them. Than she went to Dover and there tooke the see, and had so good wynde, that in a shorte space she arryved before Calays, thre dayes before the feest of Al Sayntes, for whose commyng the kyng made a great feest and dyner, to all the lordes and ladyes that were ther. The quene brought many ladyes and damoselles with her, as well to acompany her as to se their husbandes, fathers, bretherne and other frendes that lay at siege there before Calays and had done a longe space.

CAP. CXL

Howe the yonge erle of Flaunders ensured the kynges doughter of Englande.

THE siege before Calais enduredde longe, and many thynges fell in the meane season, the whiche I canne nat write the fourthe parte. The Frenche kynge had sette men of warre in every fortresse in those marchesse, in the countie of Guynes, of Arthoyes, of Boloyne, and aboute Calays, and had a great nombre of Genowayes, Normayns and other on the see, so that whan any of the Englysshmen wolde goo a foragynge, other a fote or horse-backe, they founde many tymes harde adventures, and often there was skirmysshing about the gates and dykes of the towne, and often tymes some slayne and hurte on bothe parties; some day the one part lost and some day the other. The kynge of Englande caused engyns to be made to oppresse theyme within the towne, but they within made other agayne to resist them, so that they toke lytell hurt by them; but nothynge coude come into the towne but by stelth, and that was by the meanes of two maryners, one called Maraunt, and the other Mestryell, and they dwelt in Abvyle; by theym two, they of Calays were often tymes reconforted and fresshed by stelth, and often tymes they were in great peryll, chased and nere taken, but alwayes they scaped, and made many Englysshemen to be drowned.

CAP. CXL

Howe the yonge erle of Flaunders ensured the kynges doughter of Englande.

All that wynter the kyng lay styll at the siege, and thought and ymagined ever to kepe the commentie of Flaunders in frendshyppe, for he thought by their meanes the soner to come to his entent. He sende often tymes to them with fayre promyses, sayeng that if he myght gette Calys, he wolde helpe them to recover Lysle, and Doway, with all their appurtenaunces. So by occasyon of suche promyses, whyle the kyng was in Normandy towardes Cressey and Calays, they went and layd siege to Bethwyn, and ther captayne was sir Oudeart de Ronty, who was banysshed out of Fraunce. They helde a great siege before that towne, and sore constrayned them by assaut: but within were four knyghtes captayns, set there by the Frenche kyng to kepe the towne, that is to say, sir Geffray of Charney, sir Ewstace of Rybamount, sir Baudwyn of Nekyn,[1] and sir John of Landas: they defended the towne in suche wyse, that the Flemmynges wan nothyng ther, but so departed and retourned agayne into Flaunders. But whyle the kynge of Englande lay at siege before Calys, he sent styll messangers to them of Flanders, and made them great promyses to kepe their amyte with hym, and to oppresse the drift of the French kyng, who dyde all that he coulde to drawe them to his opynyon. The kynge of Englande wolde gladly that the erle Loyes of Flaunders, who was as than but fyftene yere of age, shulde have in maryage his doughter Isabell; so moche dyd the kyng that the Flemmynges agreed therto; wherof the kynge was gladde, for he thought by that mariage, the Flemmynges wolde the gladlyer helpe hym: and the Flemmynges thought by havyng of the kynge of Englande on their partie, they might well resyst the Frenchmen; they thought it more necessary and profytable for them, the love of the kyng of Englande, rather than the Frenche kynge. But the yong erle, who had ben ever norysshed amonge the noble men of France, wolde nat agre, and sayd playnly, he wolde nat have to his wyfe the doughter of hym that slewe his father. Also duke Johan of Brabant, purchased greatly that the erle of Flaunders shulde have his doughter in maryage, promysing hym that if he wolde take her to his wyfe, that he wolde cause hym to enjoy the hole erldome of Flanders, other by fayre meanes

[1] *d'Annequin.*

CAP. CXL
Howe the yonge erle of Flaunders ensured the kynges doughter of Englande.

or otherwyse. Also the duke sayde to the Frenche kyng, Sir, if the erle of Flanders woll take my doughter, I shall fynde the meanes that all the Flemmynges shall take your part and forsake the kyng of Englande; by the whiche promyse the Frenche kyng agreed to that maryage. Whan the duke of Brabant had the kynges gode wyll, than he sent certayne messangers into Flanders to the burgesses of the good townes, and shewed them so fayre reasons, that the counsayles of the good townes sent to the erle their naturall lorde, certifyeng hym that if he wolde come into Flanders and use their counsayle, they wolde be to hym trewe and good frendes, and delyver to hym all the rightes and jurysdictyons of Flanders, as moche as ever any erle hadde: the erle toke counsayle and went into Flaunders, wher he was receyved with great joye and gyven to hym many great presentes. Assone as the kyng of Englande harde of this, he sende into Flaunders the erle of Northampton, therle of Arundell, and the lorde Cobham. They dyde so moche with the offycers and commons of Flaunders, that they had rather that their lorde therle shulde take to his wyfe the kyng of Englandes doughter, than the doughter of the duke of Brabant; and so to do they affectuously desyred their lorde, and shewed hym many fayre reasons to drawe hym to that way, so that the burgesses that wer on the duke of Brabantes partie durste nat say the contrary. But than the erle in no wyse wolde concent therto, but ever he sayde he wolde natte wedde her, whose father had slayne his, though he myght have halfe of the hole realme of Englande. Whane the Flemmynges sawe that, they sayd howe their lorde was to moche French and yvell counsayled, and also sayd howe they wolde do no good to hym, syth he wolde nat belyve their counsayls. Than they toke and putte hym in cortoyse prison, and sayd howe he shulde never depart without he wolde folowe and byleve their counsayls: also they sayd, that the erle his father belyved and loved to moche the Frenchemen, for if he wolde a byleved them, he shulde have ben the greattest lorde in all christendome, and recovered agayne Lysle, Doway, and Bethwyn, and yet alyve. Thus the mater abode a certayne space: the kynge of Englande lay styll at the siege before Calays, and kept a

great court that Christmas; and about the begynnynge of Lent after, came thyder out of Gascoyne the erle of Derby, the erle of Penbroke, the erle of Canforte, and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers, that had passed the see with the erle. Thus the erle of Flaunders was long in danger amonge the Flemmynges in cortoyse prison, and it greatly anoyed hym. Than at last he sayde he wolde byleve their counsayle, for he knewe well, he sayd, that he shulde have more profet there than in any other contrey. These wordes rejoysed greatly the Flemmynges; than they toke hym out of prison and suffred hym to go a haukyng to the ryver, the which sport the erle loved well; but ever ther was good watche layde on hym, that he shulde nat steale away fro theym, and they were charged on their lyves to take good hede to hym, and also they were suche as were favourable to the kyng of England: they watched hym so nere, that he coude nat pysse without their knowlege. This endured so longe that at last the erle sayd that he wolde gladly have to his wyfe the kyng of Englandes doughter. Than the Flemmynges sende worde therof to the kynge and to the quene, and poynted a day that they shuld come to Bergus in the abbey, and to bringe their doughter with theym, and they wolde bring thyder their lorde the erle of Flanders, and there to conclude up the maryage. The kyng and the quene were gladde therof, and sayde that the Flemmynges were good men; so to Bergus bytwene Newport and Gravelynge, came the moost saddest men of the gode townes in Flaunders, and brought with them the erle their lorde in great estate. The kyng of Englande and the quene were ther redy; the erle curtesly inclyned to the kyng and to the quene; the kyng toke the erle by the ryght hande right swetely, and ledde hym forthe, sayeng, As for the dethe of the erle your father, as God helpe me, the day of the batayle of Cressey, nor the nexte day after I never herde worde of hym that he shulde be there. The yong erle by semblant made as thoughe he had ben content with the kynges excuse. Than they fyll in communycacyon of the maryage: there were certayne artycles agreed unto by the kyng of Englande and the erle Loyes of Flaunders, and great amyties ther was sworne bytwene them to be

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holden; and there the erle fyaunced Isabell the kyng of Englandes doughter, and promysed to wedde her. So that journey brake of, and a newe day to be apoynted at more leaser: the Flemmynges retourned into Flaunders with their lorde, and the kynge of Englande with the quene went agayne to the siege of Calays. Thus the mater stode a certayne tyme, and the kynge and the quene prepayred greatly agayne the maryage for jewelles and other thynges to gyve away, acordyng to their behavyours. The erle of Flanders dayly past the tyme at the ryver, and made semblant that this maryage pleased him greatly: so the Flemmynges thought that they were than sure ynough of hym, so that there was nat so great watch made on hym as was before. But they knewe nat well the condycion of their lorde, for whatsover countenance he made outwarde, his inwarde courage was all Frenche. So on a day he went forthe with his hawkes, the same weke the maryage shulde have ben finysshed; his fauconer cast of a faukon to an hearon, and therle cast of another. So these two faukons chased the hearon, and the erle rode after, as to folowe his faucon; and whan he was a gode way of and had the advantage of the feldes, he dasshed his spurres to his horse and galoped forth in suche wyse, that his kepars lost hym: styll he goloped forthright, tyll he came into Arthoyes, and ther he was in suretie: and so than he rode into Fraunce to kyng Philyp and shewed hym all his adventure. The kynge and the Frenchmen sayd howe he had dalt wysely: the Englysshmen on the other syde sayd howe he had betrayed and disceyved them; but for all that, the kyng left nat to kepe the Flemmynges in amyte, for he knewe well the erle had done this dede nat by their counsell, for they wer sore dyspleased therwith; and the excuse that they made the kyng soone byleved it in that behalfe.

CAP. CXLI

Howe sir Robert of Namure dyde homage to the kyng of England before Calays.

WHYLE the kynge lay at siege before Calays, ther came to se the kynge and the quene dyvers lordes and knightes of Flanders, of Brabant, of Heynault, and of Almaygne, and there departed none agayne but that had great gyftes gyven them. The same season there was newely come into the countie of Namure and of Liege out of the Holy Lande, sir Robert of Namure, and the lorde of Lespentyne hadde made hym knyght at the holy sepulcre. This sir Robert was as than a yong lusty knight and was nat desyred of any of bothe kynges; than he came of his owne good mynde, well acompanyed and richely to the siege before Calayes, and there presented hymselfe to the kyng of Englande, who joyfully receyved hym, and so dyde the quene and all the other lordes; he entred greatly into the kynges favour, bycause he bare the name of sir Robert de Arthoys, his uncle. Thus sir Robert became the kynges liege man: the kynge gave hym thre hundred pounde sterlynge by yere out of his cofers, to be payde at Bruges: there he taryed with the kynge before Calays tyll the towne was wonne, as ye shall here after.

CAP. CXLII

Howe thenglysshmen wanne the Rochdaren, and howe sir Charles de Bloyes layed siege therto.

IT is longe nowe syth we spake of sir Charles de Bloyes as than the duke of Bretaygne, and of the countesse of Mountforde, but it was bycause of the truse that was takenne at Vannes the whiche was well kept; for durynge the trewse, eyther partie kept peasably that they had in possessyon: and assone as the trewse was expyred they made agayne feerse warr. There was come into Bretaygne,

CAP. CXLII Howe thenglysshmen wanne the Rochdaren.

fro the kynge of Englande, sir Thomas Dangorne,[1] and sir Johan Hartwell: they came thyder fro the siege of Calays, with a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers; they taryed with the countes of Mountforde, at Hanybont, and with them sir Tanguy of the Castell Bretone Bretonant. Thenglysshmen and Bretons of that parte made often tymes journeys agaynst sir Charles de Bloyes men: somtyme they wanne and somtyme they lost: the contrey was exyled and distroyed by reason of these men of warre. On a day these Englysshmen went and layde siege to a good towne called Rochedaren, and often tymes they made assautes, but the towne was so well defended that thenglysshmen wanne nothyng; captayne within the towne was Tassart de Guynes. They within the towne were thre partes, rather Englysshe than Frenche; and so they tooke the captayne and sayde they wolde slee hym without he wolde yelde hymselfe Englysshe to them. Thanne he sayde he wolde do as they wolde have hym and so therupon they let hym go; and than he taryed with the Englysshmen and tourned to the countes of Mountfordes parte, and so he was styll capytayne of the towne and left certayne soudyours to kepe the towne and castell. Whan sir Charles du Bloyes herde therof, he sware that the mater shulde natte longe be so: thane he sende for menne all aboute Bretaygne and Normandy, and assembled in the cytie of Nauntes sixtene hundred menne of armes and twelfe thousande afote; ther were with hym a four hundred knyghtes and xxiiii. baners. So he came and layde siege to Rochdaren lately before wonne by the Englysshmen, and had great engyns that caste day and nyght, the which sore constrayned them within. Than they of the towne sende messangers to the countesse of Mountforde, that acordynge to her promyse, to sende theym some ayde and conforte. Than the countesse sende all about to assemble men toguyder, and shortely she had a thousande menne of armes and eyght thousande afote, and she made capytayns of theym the forsayd thre knyghtes, who sayd they wolde never retourne tyll they had reysed the seige before Rochdaren or els to dye in the quarell. And so they sette forthe, and came nere to the hoost of sir Charles of Bloyes, and lodged

[1] *Dagworth.*

by a ryver syde that night to thyntent to fight the next day. And whan every man was at rest, sir Thomas Dangorne and sir Johan Artwell caused halfe their company to be armed, and departed fro their hoost about mydnight, and sodenly entred into the lorde Charles hoost on the one syde, and beate downe and slewe moche people, and they taryed so longe, that all the hoost was moved and every man redy so that they coulde nat retourne agayne without batayle. There they were enclosed, and fought withall sharpely, so that they might nat bere the Frenchmens dedes, but ther they were taken and sir Thomas Dangorne sore hurt, but sir Johan Artwell saved hymselfe as well as he might by the ryver and retourned to his company, and shewed them his adventure; thanne they were determyned to have retourned agayne to Hanybont.

CAP. CXLII

Howe thenglysshmen wanne the Rochdaren.

CAP. CXLIII

Of the batayle of Rochedaren and how sir Charles de Bloys was there taken by thenglysshmen.

THE same seson that the Englysshmen were thus in counsayle and had determyned to have departed, there came to them a knyght from the countesse of Mountforte, called Garnyer lorde of Cadudall, with a hundred men of armes: and assone as he was come and knewe all their demenour he sayde, Nay sirs, lette us nat thus tourne agayne, leape on your horses and suche as have non lette them come afote; lette us nowe go loke on our ennemyes for nowe they thynke themselfe sure, I warant we shall dysconfet them. Than the horsemen rode forthe and the fotemen folowed, and aboute the sonne rysinge they dasshed into the lorde Charles hoost, and every manne ther was aslepe and at rest for they thought to have no more ado at that tyme. Thenglysshmen and Bretons bete downe tentes and pavilyons and slewe people downe right for they were sodenly taken; ther was moch people slayne, and sir Charles of Bloyes and all the lordes of Bretayne and Normandy that were there with hym were taken prisoners.

CAP. CXLIII Of the batayle of Rochedaren.

Thus the siege of Rochedaren was reysed, and the lorde Charles was brought to Hanybont: but suche fortresses as were of his partie helde styll, for his wyfe who called herselfe duchesse of Bretaygne toke the warre in hande.

CAP. CXLIIII

Howe the Frenche kyng assembled a great hoost to rayse the kyng of England fro the siege before Calys.

KINGE Philyppe who knewe well howe his men were sore constrayned in Calays, commaunded every manne to be with hym at the feest of Pentecost in the cyte of Amyense or ther about: ther was non durst say nay. The kyng kept there a great feest: thyder came duke Odes of Burgoyne and the duke of Normandy his eldyst sonne and the duke of Orlyanse his yongest sonne, the duke of Burbon, therle of Foitz, the lorde Loyes of Savoy, sir John of Heynalt, the erle of Armynake, the erle of Forestes, therle of Valentenoys and dyvers other erles, barons, and knyghtes. Whan they were all at Amyense they toke counsayle; the Frenche kynge wolde gladly that the passages of Flaunders myght have ben opyned to hym, for than he thought he might sende part of his men to Gravelyng, and by that way to refresshe the towne of Calys, and on that syde to fyght easely with thenglysshmen. He sende great messangers into Flanders to treat for that mater, but the kynge of Englande had there suche frendes that they wolde never acorde to that curtesy. Than the Frenche kyng said howe he wolde go thyder on the syde towarde Burgoyne. The kynge of Englande sawe well howe he coude nat get Calays but by famyne; than he made a stronge castell and a hygh, to close up the passage by the see, and this castell was set bytwene the towne and the see, and was well fortyfied with springalles, bombardes, bowes, and other artillary: and in this castell were threscore men of armes and two hundred archers; they kept the havyn in suche wyse, that nothyng coude come in nor out; it was

thought that therby they within shulde the soner be famysshed. In that season the kynge of Englande so exhorted them of Flaunders, that there yssued out of Flaunders a hundred thousande, and went and layde siege to the towne of Ayre, and brent the contrey all about, as Menyvell,[1] La Gorge,[2] Estelles[3] le Ventre,[4] and a marche called la Loe, and to the gates of saynt Omer and Turwyne.[5] Than the kyng went to the towne of Arras, and sette many men of warr to the garysons of Arthoys, and specially he sent his constable, sir Charles of Spaygne to saynt Omers, for the erle of Ewe and of Guynes, who was constable of Fraunce, was prisoner in Englande, as it hath ben shewed before. The Flemmynges dyd the Frenchmen great trouble or they departed; and whan the Flemmynges were returned,[6] than the French kyng and his company departed fro Arras, and went to Hedyn. His host with the caryage held well in length, a thre leagues of that contrey, and ther he taryed a day, and the next day to Blangy; ther he rested to take advyse what way to go forthe: than he was counsayled to go through the contrey called la Belme: and that way he toke and with hym a CC.M. one and other, and so passed by the countie of Franqueberg,[6] and so came streyght to the hyll of Sangattes, bytwene Calys and Wyssant: they came thyder in goodly order with baners displayed, that hit was great beautie to beholde their puyssant array; they of Calys whan they sawe them lodge it semed to them a newe siege.

CAP. CXLIIII

Howe the Frenche kyng assembled a great hoost to rayse the kyng of England fro the siege before Calys.

[1] *Merville.*
[2] *La Gorgue.*
[3] *Estaires.*
[4] *Laventie.*
[5] *Thérouame.*
[6] *Fauquemberghe.*

CAP. CXLV

Howe the kyng of England made the passages about Calays to be well kept that the Frenche kyng shulde nat aproche to reyse his siege.

YE shall here what the kynge of Englande dyd and caused to be done, whane he sawe and knewe that the French kyng came with so great an hoost to rayse the siege, the whiche had coste hym so moche good and payne of his body, and lost many of his men, and knewe well howe he had so constrayned the towne that hit

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Howe the kyng of England made the passages about Calays to be well kept.

coulde nat longe endure for defaute of vitayls: it greved hym sore than to depart. Than he advysed well howe the Frenchmen coude nat aproche nother to his hoost nor to the towne, but in two places, other by the downes by the see syde or elles above by the hyghe way, and there was many dykes, rockes, and maresshes, and but one way to passe, over a bridge called Newlande[1] bridge. Thane the kynge made all his navy to drawe along by the cost of the downes, every shyp well garnysshed with bombardes, crosbowes, archers, springalles and other artyllary, wherby the Frenche hoost myght nat passe that way: and the kynge caused the erle of Derby to go and kepe Newlande bridge, with a great nombre of men of armes and archers, so that the Frenchemen coude natte passe no way, without they wolde have gone through the marshes, the whiche was unpossyble. On the other syde towarde Calys, ther was a hyghe towre kept with xxx. archers, and they kept the passage of the downes fro the Frenchmen the which was well fortifyed with great and double dykes. Whan the Frenchmen were thus lodged on the mount of Sangate, the commons of Turney who were a fyftene hundred came to that towre, and they within shotte at them, but they passed the dykes and came to the fote of the wall with pykes and hokes. There was a sore assaute, and many of them of Tourney sore hurte, but at laste they wanne the towre, and all that were within slayne and the towre beaten downe: the French kyng sent his marshals to advyse what way he myght aproche, to fyght with the Englysshemen: so they went forthe, and whan they had advysed the passages and straytes, they retourned to the kyng and sayd, howe in no wyse he coude come to the Englysshemen without he wolde lese his people. So the mater rested all that day and nyght after. The nexte day after masse, the Frenche kynge sende to the kynge of Englande, the lorde Geffray of Charney, the lorde Ewstace of Rybamount, Guy of Nele, and the lorde of Beajewe, and as they rodde that stronge way they sawe well it was harde to passe that way; they praysed moche the order that the erle of Derby kepte there at the bridge of Newlande by the whiche they passed. Than they rode tyll they came to the kynge, who was well acompanyed with

[1] *Nieulet.*

noble men aboute hym; thane they foure lyghted and came to the kynge and dyde their reverence to hym; than the lorde Ewstace of Rybamont said, Sir, the kynge my maister sendeth you worde by us, that he is come to the mount of Sangate to do batayle with you, but he canne fynde no way to come to you; therfore, sir, he wolde that ye shulde apoynt certayne of your counsayle, and in lykewise of his, and they bytwene theym to advyse a place for the batayle. The kyng of Englande was redy advysed to answere, and sayd, Sirs, I have well understande that ye desyre me, on the behalfe of myne adversary, who kepeth wrongfully fro me myne herytage, wherfore I am sorie: say unto hym fro me if ye lyst, that I am here and so have bene nyghe an hole yere, and all this he knewe right well: he might have come hyther soner if he had wolde, but he hath suffred me to abyde here so long, the which hath ben gretly to my coste and charge; I nowe coude do so moche if I wolde, to be sone lorde of Calays, wherfore I am natte determynedde to folowe his devyse and ease, nor to depart fro that whiche I am at the poynt to wynne, and that I have so sore desyred and derely bought. Wherfore if he nor his men canne passe this way, lette theym seke some other passage if they thynke to come hyther. Thane these lordes departed and were conveyed tyll they were paste Newlande bridge; than they shewed the Frenche kynge the kynge of Englandes aunswere. In the meane season whyle the Frenche kynge studyed howe to fight with the kyng of Englande, ther came into his hoost two cardynalles from pope Clement in legacion, who toke great payne to ryde bytwene these hoostes, and they procuredde so moche, that ther was graunted a certayne treatie of acorde, and a respyte bytwene the two kynges and their men, beynge there at siege and in the felde all onely. And so ther were four lordes apoynted on eyther partie to counsell togyder and to treat for a peace: for the Frenche kyng, ther was the duke of Burgoyne, and the duke of Burbone, sir Loyes of Savoy, and sir John Heynalt: and for thenglysshe partie, therle of Derby, the erle of Northamton, the lorde Reynolde Cobham and the lorde Gaultyer of Manny; and the two cardynalles were meanes bytwene the parties. These lordes

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Howe the kyng of Englande made the passages about Calays to be well kept.

CAP. CXLV
Howe the kyng of England made the passages about Calays to be well kept.

mette thre dayes and many devyses put forthe, but none toke effect: and in the meane season the kyng of Englande alwayes fortifyed his host and felde, and made dykes on the downes that the Frenchmen shuld nat sodenly come on them. These thre dayes passed without any agrement; than the two cardynalles returned to saynt Omers, and whan the Frenche kynge sawe that he coulde do nothynge, the next day he dysloged betymes and toke his waye to Amyens, and gave every man leave to depart. Whane they within Calays sawe their kynge depart they made great sorowe; some of the Englysshmen folowed the tayle of the Frenchmen and wanne somers, cartes and caryages, horse, wyne and other thynges, and toke prisoners whom they brought into the hoost before Calays.

CAP. CXLVI

Howe the towne of Calys was gyven up to the kyng of England.

AFTER that the Frenche kyng was thus departed fro Sangate, they within Calays sawe well howe their socoure fayled them, for the whiche they were in great sorowe. Than they desyred so moche their captayne sir John of Vyen, that he went to the walles of the towne and made a sygne to speke with some person of the hoost. Whan the kyng harde therof, he sende thyder sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset: than sir John of Vyen sayd to them, Sirs, ye be right valyant knyghtes in dedes of armes, and ye knowe well howe the kynge my maister hath sende me and other to this towne, and commaunded us to kepe it to his behofe, in suche wyse that we take no blame nor to hym no dammage; and we have done all that lyeth in oure power. Nowe our socours hath fayled us, and we be so sore strayned that we have nat to lyve withall, but that we muste all dye or els enrage for famyn, without the noble and gentyll kyng of yours woll take mercy on us: the which to do we requyre you to desyre hym, to have pyte on us and to let us go and depart as we be, and lette hym take the towne and castell and all the goodes that be therin, the

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Howe the towne of Calys was gyven up to the kyng of England.

whiche is great habundaunce. Than sir Gaultyer of Manny sayde, Sir, we knowe somwhat of the entencyon of the kynge our maister, for he hath shewed it unto us; surely knowe for trouth it is nat his mynde that ye nor they within the towne shulde departe so, for it is his wyll that ye all shulde put your selfes into his pure wyll, to ransome all suche as pleaseth hym and to putte to dethe suche as he lyste: for they of Calays hath done hym suche contraryes and dispyghtes, and hathe caused hym to dyspende soo moche good, and loste many of his menne, that he is sore greved agaynst them. Than the captayne sayde, Sir, this is to harde a mater to us; we ar here within, a small sorte of knyghtes and squyers, who hath trewely served the kynge our maister as well as ye serve yours in lyke case, and we have endured moche payne and unease; but we shall yet endure asmoche payne as ever knyghtes dyd rather thanne to consent that the worst ladde in the towne shulde have any more yvell than the grettest of us all: therfore, sir, we pray you that of your humylite, yet that ye woll go and speke to the kynge of Englande and desyre hym to have pytie of us, for we truste in hym somoche gentylnesse, that by the grace of God his purpose shall chaung. Sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset retourned to the kynge and declared to hym all that hadde ben sayde. The kynge sayde he wolde none otherwyse but that they shulde yelde theym up symply to his pleasure. Than sir Gaultyer sayde, Sir, savyng your dyspleasure in this, ye may be in the wronge, for ye shall gyve by this an yvell ensample: if ye sende any of us your servauntes into any fortresse, we woll nat be very gladde to go if ye putte any of theym in the towne to dethe after they be yelded, for in lykewise they woll deale with us if the case fell lyke: the whiche wordes dyverse other lordes that were there present sustayned and maynteyned. Than the kynge sayde, Sirs, I woll nat be alone agaynst you all; therfore, sir Gaultyer of Manny, ye shall goo and say to the capytayne that all the grace that he shall finde nowe in me is that they lette sixe of the chiefe burgesses of the towne come out bare heeded, bare foted and bare legged, and in their shertes, with haulters about their neckes, with the kayes of the towne and castell in their handes, and lette

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Howe the towne of Calys was gyven up to the kyng of England.

theym sixe yelde themselfe purely to my wyll, and the resydewe I wyll take to mercy. Than sir Gaultyer retourned and founde sir John of Vyen styll on the wall, abydinge for an answere: thanne sir Gaultier shewed hym all the grace that he coulde gette of the kynge. Well, quoth sir Johan, sir, I requyre you tary here a certayne space tyll I go into the towne and shewe this to the commons of the towne, who sent me hyder. Than sir John went unto the market place and sowned the common bell. Than incontynent men and women assembled there; than the captayne made reporte of all that he had done, and sayde, Sirs, it wyll be none otherwyse; therfore nowe take advyse and make a shorte aunswere. Thanne all the people beganne to wepe and to make such sorowe, that there was nat so hard a hert if they had sene them but that wolde have had great pytie of theym; the captayne hym selfe wepte pyteously. At last the moost riche burgesse of all the towne, called Ewstace of saynt Peters, rose up and sayde openly, Sirs, great and small, great myschiefe it shulde be to suffre to dye suche people as be in this towne, other by famyn or otherwyse, whan there is a meane to save theym: I thynke he or they shulde have great merytte of our Lorde God that myght kepe theym fro suche myschiefe: as for my parte, I have so good truste in our Lorde God, that if I dye in the quarell to save the residewe, that God wolde pardone me; wherfore, to save them, I wyll be the first to putte my lyfe in jeopardy. Whan he had thus sayde, every man worshypped hym, and dyvers kneled downe at his fete with sore wepyng and sore sighes. Than another honest burgesse rose and sayde, I wyll kepe company with my gossyppe Ewstace; he was called John Dayre. Than rose up Jaques of Wyssant, who was riche in goodes and herytage; he sayd also that he wolde holde company with his two cosyns; in likwyse so dyd Peter of Wyssant his brother: and thane rose two other; they sayde they wolde do the same. Thanne they went and aparelled them as the kynge desyred. Than the captayne went with them to the gate: ther was great lamentacyon made of men, women, and chyldren at their departyng: than the gate was opyned and he yssued out with the vi. burgesses and closed the gate agayne, so

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Howe the towne of Calys was gyven up to the kyng of England.

that they were bytwene the gate and the barriers. Than he sayd to sir Gaultier of Manny, Sir, I delyver here to you as captayne of Calays, by the hole consent of all the peple of the towne, these six burgesses; and I swere to you truely that they be and were to day moost honourable, riche, and most notable burgesses of all the towne of Calys; wherfore, gentyll knyght, I requyre you pray the kyng to have mercy on theym, that they dye nat. Quoth sir Gaultier, I can nat say what the kyng wyll do, but I shall do for them the best I can. Thane the barryers were opyned, the sixe burgesses went towardes the kyng, and the captayne entred agayne into the towne. Whan sir Gaultier presented these burgesses to the kyng, they kneled downe and helde up their handes and sayd, Gentyll kyng, beholde here we sixe, who were burgesses of Calays and great marchantes: we have brought to you the kayes of the towne and of the castell and we submyt oure selfe clerely into your wyll and pleasure, to save the resydue of the people of Calays, who have suffred great payne. Sir, we beseche your grace to have mercy and pytie on us through your hygh nobles: than all the erles and barownes, and other that were there, wept for pytie. The kyng loked felly on theym, for greatly he hated the people of Calys, for the gret damages and dyspleasures they had done hym on the see before. Than he commaunded their heedes to be stryken of. Than every man requyred the kyng for mercy, but he wolde here no man in that behalfe. Than sir Gaultier of Manny sayd, A noble kyng, for Goddes-sake, refrayne your courage; ye have the name of soverayne nobles, therfore nowe do nat a thyng that shulde blemysshe your renome, nor to gyve cause to some to speke of you villany; every man woll say it is a great cruelty to put to deth suche honest persons, who by their owne wylles putte themselfe into your grace to save their company. Than the kyng wryed away fro hym, and commaunded to sende for the hangman, and sayd, They of Calys had caused many of my men to be slayne, wherfore these shall dye in likewyse. Than the quene beynge great with chylde, kneled downe and sore wepyng, sayd, A gentyll sir, syth I passed the see in great parell, I have desyred nothyng of you; therfore nowe I humbly requyre you, in the honour of the Son of the Virgyn

CAP. CXLVI

Howe the towne of Calys was gyven up to the kyng of England.

Mary and for the love of me that ye woll take mercy of these sixe burgesses. The kyng behelde the quene and stode styll in a study a space, and than sayd, A dame, I wold ye had ben as nowe in some other place, ye make suche request to me that I can nat deny you; wherfore I gyve them to you, to do your pleasure with theym. Than the quene caused them to be brought into her chambre, and made the halters to be taken fro their neckes, and caused them to be newe clothed, and gave them their dyner at their leser; and than she gave ech of them sixe nobles and made them to be brought out of thoost in savegard and set at their lyberte.

CAP. CXLVII

Howe the kyng of Englande repeopled the towne of Calys with Englysshmen.

THUS the strong towne of Calays was gyven up to kyng Edwarde of England the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC.xlvi. in the moneth of August. The kyng of England called to hym sir Gaultier of Manny and his two marshals, therle of Warwyke and therle of Stafforde, and sayd to them, Sirs, take here the kayes of the towne and castell of Calys; go and take possessyon there and putte in prison all the knyghtes that be there, and all other soudyours that came thyder symply to wynne their lyveng; cause theym to avoyde the towne, and also all other men, women and chyldren, for I wolde repeople agayne the towne with pure Englysshmen. So these thre lordes with a hundred with them went and toke possessyon of Calys, and dyd put in prison sir John de Vien, sir John of Surrey, sir John of Belborne, and other. Than they made all the soudyers to bring all their harnesse into a place apoynted, and layed it all on a hepe in the hall of Calys. Thanne they made all maner of people to voyde, and kept there no mo persons but a preest and two other auncyent personages, suche as knewe the customes, lawes and ordynaunces of the towne, and to signe out the herytages howe they were devyded. Than they prepared the castell to lodge the kyng and quene, and prepared other houses for the kynges company. Than

CAP. CXLVII

Howe the kyng of Englande repeopled the towne of Calys with Englysshmen.

the kyng mounted on his horse and entred into the towne with trumpets, tabours, nakquayres and hornes,[1] and there the kyng lay tyll the quene was brought a bedde of a fayre lady named Margarete. The kyng gave to sir Gaultier of Manny dyvers fayre houses within the towne, and to therle Stafforde, to the lorde of Bethene, to sir Bartylmewe of Bomes, and to other lordes to repeople agayn the towne. The kynges mynde was when he came into Englande to sende out of London a xxxvi. good burgesses to Calys to dwell there, and to do somoche that the towne myght be peopled with pure Englysshmen; the which entent the kynge fulfylled. Than the newe towne and bastyd that was made without the towne was pulled downe, and the castell that stode on the havyn rasshed downe, and the great tymbre and stones brought into the towne. Than the kynge ordayned men to kepe the gates, walles and barryers, and amended all thynges within the towne; and sir John de Vien and his company were sent into Englande and were halfe a yere at London, than they were putte to raunsome. Methynke it was great pyte of the burgesses and other men of the towne of Calys, and women and chyldren, whane they were fayne to forsake their houses, herytages and goodes, and to bere away nothyng, and they had no restorement of the Frenche kyng, for whose sake they lost all: the moost part of them went to saynt Omers. The cardynall Guy de Boloyne, who was come into France in legacyon and was with the Frenche kynge his cosyn in the cytie of Amyense, he purchased somoche that a truse was taken bytwene the kynges of Englande and of Fraunce, their contres and herytages, to endure two yeres. To this truse all parties were agreed, but Bretayne was clerely excepte, for the two ladyes made styll warre one agaynst the other. Than the kyng of Englande and the quene retourned into Englande, and the kyng made captayne of Calys sir Amery of Pavy, a Lumbarde borne, whom the kyng had greatly avaunced. Than the kynge sende fro London xxxvi. burgesses to Calays, who were ryche and sage, and their wyves and chyldren, and dayly encreased the nombre, for the kynge graunted there suche lyberties and franchysses, that men were gladde to go and dwell there. The same tyme

[1] *hormyes*, P.

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Howe the kyng of Englande repeopled the towne of Calys with Englysshmen.

was brought to London sir Charles de Bloyes, who called hymselfe duke of Breten; he was putte in cortoyse prison, in the Towre of London with the kyng of Scottes and the erle of Morette; but he had nat ben there longe but at the request of the quene of Englande sir Charles her cosyn germayne was receyvedde on his fayth and trouth, and rode all about London at his pleasure; but he might nat ly past one night out of London, without it were with the kynge or with the quene. Also the same tyme ther was prisoner in Englande therle of Ewe and Guynes, a right gentyll knyght; and his dealynge was suche, that he was welcome wher soever he came, and with the kyng and quene, lordes, ladyes and damosels.

CAP. CXLVIII

Of the dealynge of a brigant of Languedocke, called Bacon.

ALL this yere these two kynges helde well the trewse taken bytwene them; but sir Wyllyam Duglas and the Scottes beyng in the forest of Gedeours made warre dayly on the Englysshmen. Also suche as were in Gascoyne, Poyctou, and Xayntone, as well Frenche as Englysshe, kept nothyng the trewse taken bytwene the two kynges, but conquered often tymes townes and castels one upon the other by force, by purchase or by stelth, nyght and day; and oftentymes ther fell bytwene them many fayre aventures, somtyme to the Frenchmen, and somtyme to thenglysshmen, and alwayes the poore brigantes wanne in robynge of townes and castels; and some therby came riche, so that they were made capitayns of other brigantes; there were some well worthe xl. thousande crownes. Often tymes they wold spy wher was a good towne a dayes journey or two fro them: than they wolde assemble xx. or xxx. of them togyder, and go by covert wayes day and night and so entre into the towne unknowen in the mornynge, and sette fyre on some house; than they of the towne wolde thynke that it was done by some men of warre and so flye away out of the towne; and thanne these

brigantes wolde breke up cofers and houses, and robbe and take what they lyste and flye away whan they had done. Among other there was a brigant in Languedocke; he spyed the stronge castell of Couborne, in Lymosyn; he rode in the nyght with xxx. companyons, and toke the castell by stelthe, and the lorde of the same castell prisoner, who was called Coubourne, and putte hym in prison in his owne castell and there kept hym so longe, that at last they raunsomed hym at xxiiii. thousande crownes; and they kept styll the castell and made sore warr in the contrey. And after by fayre promyses the Frenche kyng bought hym and his castell, and gave him xx. thousand crownes and made hym ussher of armes about him: and this brigant Bacon was ever well horsed, aparelled and armed lyke an erle; and so he contynued as longe as he lyved.

CAP. CXLVIII

Of the dealynge of a brigant of Languedocke, called Bacon.

CAP. CXLIX

Of another page called Croquart.

IN lyke case there were brigantes in Bretayne who made warre and wanne townes and castelles, and lyved by robery and helde of no man; for that they wanne thei kept to themselfe, and solde to them of the countrey townes and castels derely. And among other, there was one as a mayster called Croquart, who was before but a poore page attendyng on the lorde Dercle in Holland. Whan this Croquart began to waxe a man, his lorde gave hym leave to depart and go to the warres into Bretayne; and there he fyll in servyce with a man of armes and bare hymselfe well, and at a skirmysshe his maister was taken and slayne; thanne bycause of his prowes his felowes dyde chuse hym capitayne in stede of their mayster. And than he dyd gette so moche by wynnyng of townes and castelles, that he was estemed to be worthe xl. thousand crownes besyde his horse, wherof he had a xx. or xxx. good coursers and double horse; and he had the brute to be one of the moost expert men of armes in all that countre, and he was chosen in a batayle to be one of the xxx. of the Englysshe partie and he wan ther the price of all other. The Frenche

CAP. CXLIX kyng made hym offers and promyse that if he wolde become Frenche, to make hym a knyght and to mary him rychely, and to gyve hym two thousande pounde of revenewes yerely; but he wolde in no wyse consent therto. And it fortuned hym on a day to ryde a yonge horse the which he had bought for thre hundred crownes, and he spurred hym soo sore that the horse ranne away with hym and in ronnyng fell in a dyke and brake his maysters necke: thus ended Croquart.

Of another page called Croquart.

CAP. CL

Howe sir Amery of Pavy Lumbart solde the towne of Calys wherof he was captayne to the lorde Geffray Charney of Fraunce.

ALL this season in the towne of saynt Omers was the lorde Geffray of Charney, and kept the fronters ther using every thynge touchynge the warre as kyng. Than he bethought him howe that Lumbardes naturally be covetouse: wherfore he thought to assay to gette the towne of Calys, wherof Amery of Pavy Lumbarde was capitayne; and by reasone of the trewse they of saynte Omers myght go to Calys and they of Calys to saynt Omers, so that dayly they resorted toguyder to do their marchandyses. Than sir Geffray secretly fyll in treaty with sir Amery of Pavy, so that he promysed to delyver into the Frenchmens handes the towne and castell of Calys for xx. thousande crownes. This was nat done so secretly but that the kyng of Englande had knowledge therof: than the kyng send for Amery de Pavy to come into England to Westmynster to speke with hym, and so he came over, for he thought that the kyng had nat had knowlege of that mater, he thought he had done it so secretly. Whan the kyng sawe hym, he toke hym apart and sayd, Thou knowest well I have gyven the in kepyng the thynge in this worlde that I love best, next my wyfe and chyldren; that is to say, the towne and castell of Calys, and thou hast solde it to the Frenchmen; wherfore thou haste well deserved to dye. Than the Lumbard kneled downe

and sayd, A noble kyng, I cry you mercy; it is trewe that ye say; but, sir, the bargayne may well be broken for as yet I have received never a peny. The kynge had loved well the Lumbard and sayd, Amery, I woll that thou go forwarde on thy bargayne, and the day that thou apoyntest to delyver the towne, let me have knowlege therof before; and on this condycion I forgyve the thy trespas. So therupon the Lumbard retourned agayne to Calays and kept this mater secrete. Than sir Geffray of Charney thought well to have Calays and assembled a certayne nombre secretly, a v. hundred speares; ther were but a fewe that knewe what he purposed. I thynke he never made the Frenche kyng of knowledge therof; for if he had, I trowe the kyng wolde nat a consented therto bycause of the truse. This Lumbard had apoynted to delyver the castell the first nyght of the newe yere: the Lumbarde sende worde therof by a brother of his to the kyng of Englande.

CAP. CL

Howe sir Amery of Pavy Lumbart solde the towne of Calys.

CAP. CLI

Of the batayle at Calays bytwene the kyng of Englande, under the baner of sir Gaultyer of Manny, and sir Geffray of Charney and the Frenchemen.

WHAN the kyng of England knewe the certayne day apoynted, he departed out of England with thre C. men of armes and vi. C. archers and toke shypping at Dover, and in the evenynge arryved at Calays so secretely that no man knewe therof, and went and layde his men in busshmentes in the chambers and towres within the castell. Thane the kyng sayde to sir Gaultyer of Manny, I woll that ye be chiefe of this enterprice, for I and my sonne the prince woll fyght under your baner. The lorde Geffray of Charney, the last day of Decembre at nyght, departed fro Arras and all his company, and came nere to Calis about the hour of mydnight, and than taryed there abydynge for his company, and sende two squyers to the posterne gate of the castell of Calys, and there they

CAP. CLI
Of the batayle at Calays.

founde sir Amery redy: than they demaunded of hym if it were tyme that the lorde Geffray shulde come; and the Lumbarde sayde Yes. Than they retourned to their maister and shewed hym as the Lumbard sayd: than he made his men passe Newlande bridge in good order of batayle; than he sende xii. knyghtes with a hundred men of armes to go and take possession of the castell of Calays, for he thought well if he myght have the castell he shulde soone gette the towne, seyng he had so gode a nombre of men with hym and dayly might have mo whane he lyst. And he delyvered to the lorde Edwarde of Rency xx. thousande crownes to pay the Lumbarde; and sir Geffray hoved styll in the feldes prively with his baner before hym. His entent was to entre into the towne by the gate or els nat: the Lumbarde had lette downe the bridge of the posterne and suffred the hundred men of armes to entre peasably; and sir Edwarde delyvered at the postern xx. thousand crownes in a bagge to the Lumbarde, who sayde, I trust here be all, for I have no leaser now to tell them, for it wyll be anone day: than he cast the bagge with crownes into a cofer and sayde to the Frenchmen, Come on sirs, ye shall entre into the dongyon, than shall you be sure to be lordes of the castell. They went thyder, and he drewe apart the barre, and the gate opyned. Within this towre was the kyng of England with two hundred speares, who yssued out with their swerdes and axes in their handes, cryeng Manny, Manny, to the rescue; what weneth the Frenchmen with so fewe men to wyn the castell of Calays. Than the Frenchmen sawe well that defence coude nat avayle theym; than they yelded themselfe prisoners, so that ther were but a fewe hurt: than they were put into the same towre in prison. And thenglysshmen yssued out of the castell into the towne and mounted on their horses, for they had all the Frenche prisoners horses: than tharchers rode to Bolayne gate, wher sir Geffray was with his baner before hym, of goules, thre skuchens of sylver; he had great desyre to be the first shulde entre into the towne; he sayd to the knyghtes that were about him, Without this Lumbarde opyn the gate shortely, we are lyke to dye here for colde. In the name of God, sir, said Pepyn de Werre, Lumbardes are malycious people and subtyll; he is nowe lokynge on your

CAP. CLI

Of the batayle at Calays.

crownes to se if they be all good or nat, and to reken if he have his hole somme or no. Therewith the kynge of Englande and the prince his sonne was redy at the gate, under the baner of sir Gaultier of Manny, with dyvers other baners, as the erle Stafforde, the erle of Suffolke, the lorde John Montagu, brother to therle of Salysbury, the lorde Beachame, the lorde Bercle, and the lorde Dalawarre: all these were lordes and had baners; there were no mo in that journey. Than the great gate was set open and they all yssued out: whane the Frenchmen sawe them yssue, and herde them cry Manny to the rescue, they knewe well they were betrayed. Than sir Geffray sayd to his company, Sirs, if we fly we are clene lost; yet wer we better to fight with a gode herte, in truste the journey shall be ours. The Englysshmen herd these wordes and sayd, By saynt George ye say trewely, shame have he that flyeth. The Frenchmen alighted a fote and put their horses fro them and ordred themself in batayle. Whan the kyng sawe that he stode styll and sayd, Let us order our selfe to fight, for our ennemyes woll abyde us. The kynge sende part of his company to Newland bridge, for he herde say ther were a great nombre of Frenchmen. Than thyder went a sixe baners and thre hundred archers; and there they founde the lorde Monau of Frenes[1] and the lorde of Creques[2] kepyng the bridge; and bytwene the bridge and Calays ther were many crosbowes of saynt Omers and Ayre, so there was a sore fray, and slayne and drowned mo than sixe hundred Frenchmen, for they were soone discomfitted and chased into the water. This was erly in the mornyng, but incontynent it was day: the Frenchmen kept their grounde a whyle, and many feates of armes there done on bothe partes; but the Englysshmen ever encreased by commyng out of Calays and the Frenchmen abated. Than the Frenchmen sawe well they coulde nat longe kepe the bridge; than suche as had their horses by them mounted and shewed their horses heles, and thenglysshmen after them in chase; there was many a man overthrowen. They that were well horsed saved themselfe, as the lorde Frenes, the lorde Creques, the lorde of Sempy, the lorde of Louchinleych,[3] and the lorde of Namure;[4] many were taken by their owne outrage that might have ben

[1] *Moreau de Fiennes.*
[2] *Crésecques.*
[3] *Longvillers.*
[4] *Mametz.*

CAP. CLI
Of the batayle at Calays.

saved if they had lyst. Whane it was fayre day that every man myght knowe other, than some of the French knyghtes and squyres assembled togyder agayne, and turned and fought feersly with the Englysshmen, so that ther were some of the Frenchmen that toke good prisoners, wherby they had bothe honour and profet.

Nowe let us speke of the kyng, who was ther unknowen of his ennemyes, under the banner of sir Gaultyer of Manny, and was a fote among his men to seke his ennemyes, who stode close togyder with their speares a v. fote long. At the first meatyng there was a sore rencountre, and the kyng light on the lorde Eustace of Rybemount, who was a stronge and a hardy knight; there was a long fyght bytwene hym and the king, that it was joy to beholde them; at last they were put a sondre, for a great company of bothe parties came the same way and fought there feersly togyder. The Frenchmen dyd ther right valyantly, but specially the lorde Eustace of Ribamont who strake the kyng the same day two tymes on his knees, but finally the kynge hymself toke hym prisoner, and so he yelded his swerde to the kyng (and sayd) Sir knyght, I yelde me as your prisoner; he knewe nat as than that it was the kyng. And so the journey was for the kyng of England; and all that wer ther with sir Geffray slayne or taken: ther was slayne sir Henry of Boys, and sir Pepyn de la Warre, and sir Geffray taken. Than this journey was achyved by Calis, the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.lviii. the last day of Decembre towarde the next mornyng.

CAP. CLII

Of a chapelet of perles that the kyng of Englande gave to sir Eustace of Rybemont.

WHAN this batayle was done the kyng returned agayne to the castell of Calays, and caused all the prisoners to be brought thyder. Than the Frenchmen knewe well that the kynge had ben there personally hymselfe under the baner of sir Gaultier of Manny. The kynge sayd he wolde gyve them all that night a supper in the castell of Calys; the hour of supper came and tables

CAP. CLII
Of a chapelet of perles that the kyng of Englande gave to sir Eustace of Rybemont.

coverd, and the kyng and his knyghtes were ther redy every man in newe aparell, and the Frenchmen also wer ther and made good chere, thoughe they were prisoners. The kyng satte downe, and the lordes and knyghtes about hym right honorably: the prince, lordes and knyghtes of Englande served the kynge at the first messe, and at the seconde they satte downe at an other table; they were all well served and at great leaser. Thane whan supper was done and the tables take away, the kynge taryed styll in the hall with his knyghtes and with the Frenchmen, and he was bare heeded, savyng a chapelet of fyne perles that he ware on his heed. Than the kynge went fro one to another of the Frenchmen, and whan he came to sir Geffray of Charney, a lytell he changed his countenance and loked on hym (and sayd) Sir Geffray, by reason I shulde love you butte a lytell, whan ye wolde steale by night fro me that thynge which I have so derely bought, and hath cost me so moch gode. I am right joyouse and gladde that I have taken you with the proffe; ye wolde have a better market than I have had, whan ye thought to have Calys for xx. thousande crownes; but God hath holpen me, and ye have fayled of your purpose; and therwith the kyng went fro him, and he gave never a worde to answere. Than the kynge came to sir Eustace of Rybamont, and joyously to hym he said, Sir Eustace, ye are the knyght in the worlde that I have sene moost valyant assayle his ennemyes and defende hymselfe, nor I never founde knyght that ever gave me so moche ado, body to body, as ye have done this day; wherfore I gyve you the price above all the knyghtes of my court by right sentence. Than the kyng toke the chapelet that was upon his heed, beyng bothe fayre, goodly and ryche, and sayd, Sir Eustace, I gyve you this chapelet for the best doar in armes in this journey past of eyther party; and I desyre you to bere it this yere for the love of me. I knowe well ye be fresshe and amorouse, and often tymes be among ladyes and damoselles; say whersoever ye come that I dyd gyve it you, and I quyte you your prison and ransome, and ye shall depart to morowe, if it please you.

The same yere a thousande thre hundred xlix. kynge Philyppe of Fraunce wedded his seconde wyfe the Wednisday

CAP. CLII
Of a chapelet of perles that the kyng of Englande gave to sir Eustace of Rybemont.

the xxix. day of January, dame Blanche, doughter to kynge Philyppe of Naverre who dyed in Spayne; she was of the age of eyghtene yere or there about. Also the nynetene day of February next after in the begynning of Lent, the duke of Normandy, the kynges eldest sonne, wedded his seconde wyfe at saynt Genevefe nere to saynt Germayne in Lay, Jane, countesse of Bolayne, somtyme wyfe to the lorde Phylyppe, sonne to the duke Eudos of Burgoyne; the which lorde Philyppe dyed before Aguyllone a thre yere before that. She was doughter of the erle Wyllyam of Bolayne and of the doughter of Loyes, erle of Évreux: this lady helde in her handes the duchy of Burgoyne, and the countesse of Arthoyes, Bolayne, Auvergne, and dyverse other landes.

CAP. CLIII

Of the dethe of kynge Philyppe of France, and of the coronacyon of his sonne John.

IN the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC.l. at the beginyng of August, sir Raoll of Caours and dyverse other knyghtes and squyers to the nombre of sixscore men of armes, fought before a castell called Auleon, with a capitayne of the kynge of Englandes in Bretayne, called sir Thomas Dangorne;[1] and the same sir Thomas ther slayn, and to the nombre of a C. men of armes with hym. The same yere the xxii. day of August, king Philyppe dyed at Nogeunt and was caryed to our ladyes church in Parys; and the Thursday after he was buryed at saynt Denyse on the lyft hande of the hygh auter, and his bowelles were buryed at the Jacopyns in Parys, and his hert at Bourfontayne in Valoys. The xxvi. day of Septembre next ensuynge, on a Sonday, was sacred and crowned at Reyns kynge John, eldest son to kyng Philyp; and the same day the quene also was crowned. And ther the kyng made certayne knyghtes: his eldest son dolphyn of Vyen and Loys his seconde son erle of Alanson, the erle of Stampes, the lorde John of Arthoys, the duke Philyppe of Orlyaunce, brother to the kyng, the duke of Burgoyne, son to the quene by her first husbande, the lorde Philyp of Burgoyn,

[1] *Dagworth.*

CAP. CLIII
Of the dethe of kynge Philyppe of France.

therle Dammartyn, and dyvers other. And the Monday after the kyng departed and went to Parys by Laon, Soyssons, and Senlys; and the kynge and quene entred into Parys in great tryumphe the xvii. day of Octobre, and there kept a great feest the hole weke; and the kyng taryed ther at Neele and at his palys tyll it was saynt Martyns tyde, and there made ordynaunce for his parlyament. The Tuesday the xvi. day of Novembre, Raffe, erle of Ewe and of Guynes, constable of France, who was newly come out of prison in England, was taken in the kynges house at Neele, in Parys, wher the kyng was, by the provost of Parys at the kynges commaundement, and in the same house he was put in prison tyll the Thursday after, and about the hour of matyns the same day he was beheeded in prison, in the presence of the duke of Burbon, the erle Armynake, the erle of Monford, the lorde John of Bolayne, therle of Revell and dyvers other knyghtes, who were there present by the commaundement of the kyng who was at his palays. This constable was beheeded for high treasons, the which he confessed to the duke of Athenes and to dyvers other; he was buryed in the Augustyns in Parys, without the walles of the church by the apoyntment of the kyng, for honour of the frendes of the sayd constable. In the moneth of January folowynge, Charles of Spayne to whom the kyng had gyven the countie of Angolen, was than made constable of France. The first day of Aprill next after, the lorde Guy of Neell, marshall of Fraunce, fought in Xaynton with dyvers Englysshmen and Gascoyns; and the sayde marshall and his men were there dysconfited, and the marshall taken prisoner, and the lorde Wyllyam his brother, the lorde Arnolde Dandrehen and dyvers other. On Good Friday, the x. day of Aprill, the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.li. was presented a reed hatte to Gyles Rygalt of Roussy who was abbot of saynt Denyce, and was made cardynall in the palais of Parys in the presence of the kyng, by the byshoppe of Laon and Parys, by authorite of a bull fro the pope the which hadde nat been acustomed ther before. In Septembre, after the Frenchmen recovered the towne of saynt John Dangle, the which thenglysshmen had kept fyve yere, it was delyverd up by thenglysshmen bycause they had nothyng to lyve by, without any maner of batayle. In the moneth of

CAP. CLIII
Of the dethe of kynge Philyppe of France.

Octobre was publysshed the fraternyte of the noble house of saynt Ouen ner to Parys; and all suche as were bretherne ther bare a starre on his bonet and on his mantell before. This yere was the grettest darth that any man lyveng coude remembre throughout all France; for a ceptyer of whete was worthe at Parys viii. li. parisien, and a septier of otes at lx. s. of parays, for a busshell of pees viii. s. and other grenes there after. In the same moneth of Octobre, the same day that the fraternyte of saynt Owen was celebrate, thenglysshmen toke the towne of Guynes for all the truse: the same yer ther was a maryage made bytwene the constable of France and the doughter of sir Charles de Bloves.

CAP. CLIIII

Howe the kyng of Naver made sir Charles of Spaygne constable of France to be slayne.

IN the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.lii. in the vygill of our Lady, in the myddes of august, the lord Guy of Neell, lorde of Offemont as than marshall of France, in Bretayne was slayne in bataile, the lorde of Briquebeke, the cathelayne of Beauwayes and dyvers other nobles, as well of Bretayne as of other marches of France. The iiii. day of Septembre shulde a fought in Parys, the duke of Bresvic[1] agayne the duke of Lancastre for certayne wordes that he shulde say of the duke of Bresvic, the which duke apealed hym in the court of France: these two dukes came into the felde all armed, in a lystes made for the sayd duke of Almayne, chalenger, and for the duke of Englande, defender. And though thenglysshmen wer enemyes to the French kyng, and that thenglyssh duke came thyder under save conduct to fight in the defence of his honour, yet the Frenche kynge wold nat suffre them to fight, for assone as they had made their othes in such case requysite, and were on their horses redy with their speares in their handes, than the kyng toke on hym the mater, and dyd set them in acorde and grement. The vi. day of Decembre folowyng, pope Clement the vi. dyed at Avygnon, the xi. yere of his pontificate; and the xi. day of the same moneth, about the hour

[1] *Brunswick. Boesme* P.

of thre, was chosen pope a cardynall of Lymosyn, called by his tytle the cardynall of Ostie: but bycause he was bysshoppe of Cleremont he was called most commonly the cardynall of Cleremont; and whan he was chosen pope, he was named Innocent; his owne proper name was Stephyn Aubert. The yere of our Lorde M. iii. C. liii. the viii. day of January, anone after the brekynge of the day in the mornyng, the kyng Charles of Never, erle of Evreux, caused to be slayne in the towne of the Egle in Normandy, in an hostre, the lorde Charles of Spayne, constable of France, in his bedde, by certayne men of armes that he sent to do that dede, and hymselfe abode without the towne tyll they had done and retourned agayne to hym; and as it was sayde, with hym was the lorde Philyppe of Naver, his brother, and the lorde Loys of Harcourt, the lorde Godfray of Harcourt his uncle and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers, as well of Normandy as of Naver. Than the kynge of Naver and his company went to the cyte of Devreux, wherof he was erle, and fortifyed the towne; and with hym also ther was the lorde of Maule, John Malet lorde of Gravyll, the lorde Almorie of Mulent, and dyvers other nobles of Normandy. And thane the kyng of Naver went to the towne of Mant, and he had sent dyvers letters into divers gode townes of France, howe that he had put to deth the constable for dyvers great trespaces by him commytted, and he sent the erle of Namure to the French kyng to Parys, to excuse hym. Than the kynge sende to Mant, the cardynall of Bolayne, the bysshoppe of Laon, the duke of Burbon, the erle of Vaudone and other to treat with the kyng of Naverr. For though he had caused to dye the constable of France, yet he thought he shulde nat clene lese the favour of the Frenche kyng, whose doughter he had maryed; therfore he made request of pardon to the kyng. It was thought in the realme of Fraunce that great warre shulde ensewe bytwene these two kynges: for the kyng of Naver had made great assembles of men of warre in dyvers regions, and fortifyed his townes and castels; finally, there was agrement made bytwene these two kynges upon certayne condycions, wherof part foloweth herafter: that is to say, the French kyng shall delyver to the kyng of Naver, xxxviii. M. li. tornois of

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lande, as well for certeyn rent that the kyng of Naver had out yerely of the tresur in Pares, as upon other landes that the Frenche kyng ought to assigne hym by certeyne treates graunted long before bytwene their predecessors, bycause of the countie of Champayne; and also for the maryage of the kynge of Naver for maryeng of the kynges doughter, at which mariage he was promysed great landes, that is to say, xii. M. li. of land. Also the kyng of Naver wolde have the countie of Beamont le Roger, the land of Bretuell, in Normandy, Conches and Dorbec, the vycount of Pontheu by the see, and the bayllage of Constantyne, the which thynges were agreed unto by the French kyng. Howbeit, the countie of Beamont, and the landes of Conches, Bertuell and Dorbec parteyned to the lorde Philyp, duke of Orleance, brother to the French kyng, who gave hym other landes in recompence therof. Also it was agreed, that the lordes of Harcourt and all his other alyes shuld holde of him for all their landes wher soever they were in France, if they lyst, or els nat: also it was agreed, that he shuld holde styll all the sayd landes, besyde them that he helde before in parie, and if he lyst, to kepe his escheker two tymes in the yere, as nobly as ever dyd any duke of Normandy. Also the French kynge to pardon the deth of the constable and all suche as were consentyng therto, and to promyse by his oth, never to do any hurt or dammage to any person for that occasion: and also the kyng of Naverr to have a great some of money of the French kyng; and ar the kyng of Naver wolde come to Parys, he wolde have in hostage the erle of Aniowe, seconde son to the kyng. Than he came to Pares with a great nombre of men of armes, and the iiii. day of March he came into the parlyament chambre wher the kyng satte and dyvers of the peres of the realme with him and his counsell. Ther was the cardynall of Bolayne: ther the kyng of Naver desyred the French kyng to pardon hym the deth of the constable of France, sayeng, how he had gode cause so to do, the which he offred ther to prove or els to be at the kynges pleasure; and also he sayd and sware, that he dyd it nat for no grudge to the kyng nor in dispyte of his offyce; sayeng also, howe ther was nothyng so grevous to him as to be in the displeasur with the kyng. Than the lorde Jaques of Burbone,

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as than constable by the kynges commaundement, sette his handes on the kynge of Naver, and caused hym to go abacke out of the kynges presens. Than quene Jane, and quene Blanche, suster to the kynge of Naver, the which Jane had ben wyfe to kyng Philyppe last deed, came to the Frenche kyng and kneled downe, and the lorde Reynold Detrey with them, and he sayd, My right redouted soveraygne lorde, beholde here these two ladyes, and quenes Jane and Blanche: sir, they understande howe the kyng of Naver is in your displeasur, wherof they be sorie and requyre you to forgyve hym your yvell wyll, and by the grace of God he shall so bere hymselfe fro hens forwarde, that you and all the people of France shal be pleased with hym. Than the constables and the marshalles went agayne for the kyng of Naver, and so brought hym into the kynges presence, and ther he stode bytwene the two quenes: than the cardynall sayd, Sir, kyng of Naver, the kyng my maister is nat well content with you for the dede that ye have done it nede nat to be rehersed, for ye have publysshed it yourselfe by youre owne writyng so that every man doth knowe it: ye ar so bounde to the kyng, that ye ought nat thus to have done: ye be of his blode so nere as every man knoweth, that ye ought to holde of hym, and also ye have wedded his doughter, wherefore your trespasse is the greatter; howebeit, at the instaunce and love of these ladyes the quenes, who hath effectuously requyred for you, and also the kyng thynketh that ye dyde it without great advysement and by small counsayle, therfore the kyng pardoneth you with good hert and wyll. Than the two quenes and the kynge of Naver kneled downe and thanked the kynge. Than the cardynall sayd agayne, Let every man fro hensforthe beware, though he be of the kynges lynage, to do any suche lyke dede, for surely though he be the kynges sonne, if he do any suche to the leest offycer parteyning to the kyng, he shall abyde the justyce of the realme in that case. Than the court breke up, and so every man departed. The xxi. day of Marche, a knyght baneret of the lowe marchesse called sir Reynolde of Presigny, lorde of Maraunt besyde Rochell, was drawen and hanged on the gybbette by judgement of the parlyament and by the kynges counsayle. The yere of our Lorde

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God M.CCC.liiii. in the moneth of August, the erle of Harcourt and sir Loyes his brother counsayled with the Frenche kyng, and as it was sayde, they shewed the kyng all the mater of the dethe of the constable. And in Septembre the cardynall of Bolayne went to Avygnon; some sayd the kyng was dyspleased with hym; howebeit, the space of a yere that he had ben in France, he was as prevy with the kynge as any other. The same season there went out of the realme of France, the lorde Robert de Lorris, chamberlayne with the kyng: and if the kyng had takyn hym in his yre, some thought it shulde have cost hym his lyfe, bycause it was noysed that he had shewed to the kynge of Naverre certayne secretes of the Frenche kyng, in likewyse as the lordes of Harecourt had shewed the kyng of Navers secretes to the Frenche kyng. In the moneth of Novembre the kyng of Naver went out of Normandy without knowledge of the French kyng, and sported hym in dyvers places tyll he came to Avygnon. And in the same moneth, the archebysshop of Rowan, chanceler of Fraunce, the duke of Burbone, and dyvers other Englysshe lordes wente to Avygnon to the pope, to treat for a peace bytwene the kynges of England and of France: and also the same moneth, the Frenche kyng went into Normandy to Cane, and toke in his handes all the landes of the kynge of Navers, and set in his offycers in every towne and castell except sixe, that is to say, Evreux, Pontheu, Chirburge, Gavrey, Avranges, and Mortaygne; these wolde nat yelde up for ther were Naveroys within them that answered and sayd they wolde nat delyver up their townes and castels but all onely to the kynge of Naver their lorde, who had sette them there. In the moneth of January, by save conduct, came the lorde Robert de Lorris to the Frenche kyng, and was a xv. dayes at Parys, or he coude speke with the kyng: and whan he had spoken with hym, yet he was nat reconsyled at the full, but returned agayne into Avygnon by the ordynance of the kynges counsell, to be as one of them that were ther for the treaty bytwene Englande and France. In the ende of February tidynges came howe trewse was taken bytwene the sayde two kynges, to endure to the feest of saynt John Baptyst; and in the mean tyme, the pope to do what he

myght to make a further peace: and therfore he sende messangers to bothe kynges, that they shulde sende further authorite by their embassadours, to conclude on another maner of peace. The same moneth, the Frenche kyng made newe money of fyne golde, called florence of the lambe, for in the pyell there was gravyn a lambe; lii. of theym went to a marke weyght, and after they were made, the kynge made xlviii. to goo for a marke weyght, and the course of all other florens was prohibyted. The same moneth, sir Grancher de Lore came to Parys to speke with the kynge as messanger fro the kyng of Naver, and he retourned agayne in February and bare with hym a letter of save conduct to the kyng of Naver. The same yere about Lent came dyvers Englysshmen nere to the towne of Nauntes in Bretayne, and entred into the castell by scalyng, a lii.; but sir Guy of Rochfort, who was captayn and was as than in the towne, he dyd so moche with assaut that the same nyght he wanne the castell agayne, and all thenglysshmen taken and slayne. At Easter the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.lv. kyng Johan of France sent into Normandy his eldest son Charles, dolphyn of Vienoys, to be his lieutenant ther, and there he taryed all that somer, and the men of the contre graunted hym iii. M. men of armes for thre monethes. Also in the moneth of August, the kyng of Naver came out of Naver to the castell of Chierburge in Constantyne, and with hym a x. M. men of warr one and other. Ther were dyvers treates communed of, bytwene the kyng of Naver and the Frenche kyng: but suche as were in the castell of Evrux and Pontheau robbed and pylled the countre all about; and some of them came to the castell of Conches, the whiche was as than in the French handes and wan it, and newe fortifyed it; many thynges dyde the Naveroys agaynst the Frenchmen; finally, the ii. kynges were agreed. Than the kyng of Naver went to the castell of Vernell to the dolphyne, and he brought the kyng of Naver to Parys: and the xxiiii. day of Septembre, the kyng of Naver and the dolphyn came to the Frenche kyng to the castell of Lour; than the kyng of Naverr made his reverence and excused hymselfe honorably, in that he departed out of the realme of France; and also he sayd it was shewed

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hym how the kyng shulde nat be well content with hym. Than the Frenche kynge desyred hym to shewe what they were that had made that report; than he answered, that syth the deth of the constable, he had don nothyng agaynst the French kyng but as a true man ought to have done: howebeit, he desyred the French kyng to pardon every thyng, promysynge to be true as he ought to be to his father and chiefe lorde. Thane the duke of Athenes sayde in kynges behalfe, the kynge doth pardon hym all thynges with a good hert.

CAP. CLV

Of an inposycion and gabell ordayned in Fraunce by the thre estates for the feates of the warres.

ALSO in the yere of oure Lorde M.CCC.lv. in the moneth of Octobre, the prince of Wales, eldest son to the kyng of England, went into Gascoyne and went nere to Tholouz, and so paste the ryver of Garon and went into Carcassone and brent the borowe, but the cytie was well defended; and fro thens he went to Narbon, brennyng and exilynge the contrey: and in the moneth of Novembre, he retourned to Burdeux with great pyllage and many prisoners for no man resysted hym. And yet in the contrey was therle of Armynake, lieutenant to the French kyng in Languedocke, and also the lorde of Foitx, the lorde Jaques of Burbon, the lorde of Pontheu, the constable of France, and the lorde John of Cleremont, marshall of Fraunce, and a farre gretter company than the prince had. The same yere, in the ende of Octobre, the kyng of England came to Calys, and he rode with a great hoost to Hedyn and brake the parke ther, and brent the house within, and about the parke, but he entred nat into the town nor castell. And the Frenche kyng, who had made his assemble at the cytie of Amyens heryng of the kyng of Englande rode towarde hym; but the kyng of England was returnyng to Calys, and the French kyng folowed hym tyll he came to saynt Omers, and than he send his marshall Dauthayne, and dyvers other, to the kyng of England, offeryng to fight

CAP. CLV

Of an inposycion and gabell ordayned in Fraunce.

body to body or power to power, what day soever he wold apoynt. But the kyng of England refused that batayle, and so retourned agayn into England, and the Frenche kyng to Parys.

The same yere, about the feest of saynt Andrue, there was assembled at Pares, by the kynges commaundement, the prelates of France, the barownes and the counsayls of the good townes; and ther the chanceler of France, in the parlyament chambre, resyted the state of the warres of France, desyring them therupon to take advyce what ayd might be gyven to the kyng to mentayne and defende the sayd warres, and also he sayde, it is come to the kynges knowledge howe that his subgettes ar sore greved, by reason of the mutacyon of the moneys; therfore the kyng offereth to make gode money and durable, so that they wolde graunt hym sufficient ayde to mentayne his warres. They answered, that is to say the clergy, by the mouth of the archbysshop of Reyns, the nobles, by the duke of Athenes, and the good townes, by the mouth of Stephyn Marcell, provost of the marchantes of Parys; all they sayde they were redy to lyve and dye with the kynge, and put their bodyes and goodes into his servyce, requyring to have deliberacyon to speke togyder: the which was graunted them. The same yere, the vigyll of the Concepcion of our Lady, the kyng gave the duchy of Normandy to Charles, dolphyn of Vienoys, his eldest son, and the next day he made his homage. After the delyberacyon taken by the thre estates, they answered to the kyng in the parlyament chambre, by the mouthes of the sayde thre persons, howe they wolde fynde hym for one yer xxx. M. men at their costes and charge: the finance to pay the wages of so many men of warre was estemed to l. M. li. parisien. And the thre estates ordenid this some to be levyed of every person and of every estate, men of the church, nobles, and other every man viii. d. parisien of every pounde, and that the gabell of salt shulde ron through the realme; but bycause they were nat in certayne if this inposicyon and gabell shulde suffyce, therfore it was ordayned that the thre states shulde retourne agayne to Parys to se and knowe if this inposicyon wolde serve or no, the first day of March. At the which day, thyder agayne

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Of an inposycion and gabell ordayned in Fraunce.

they came all, except certayne of the great townes of Picardy and Normandy, and some nobles of the same. Such as were at the inposicion makyng came thyder, and they founde that the first graunt wolde nat suffyce to reyse the sayde some; wherfore they ordayned a newe subsedy, that is to say, that every person of the blode royall, or otherwyse, clerke, lay, relygious or relygious, except and nat except, householders, curates of churches havyng rentes or revenewes, offices or adminystracyon, women, wydowes, chyldren maryed or natte maryed, havyng any thynge of their owne or in any others kepynge, none age or admynistracion; and all other of every estate, authorite or privylege, that they as than used, or have used in tyme past, if it be C. li. of revenues or under, if it be for terme of lyfe in herytage, in plege, or by meanes of office, or pencion, duryng lyfe, or at wyll, shall pay to his ayde and subsidy of every iiii. li. xl. souces; and of x. li. of revenues or above, xx. souces. Labourers and workemen lyveng by their labour shall pay x. souces; servantes, prentyses, lyveng by their servyces, takyng C. s. by yere or more, shall in likewyse pay x. s. taking these moneys after the rate of Parys money in that countre, and at Tourney for the money currant in that partes. And if servantes have nat by yere but C. s. or under, they shall pay nothing, without they have goodes after the rate, than shall they pay as others do. And also beggers, monkes, and cloystereus without offyce or admynistracyon, nor chyldren beynge in warde, under the age of xv. yere, havyng nothyng in their handes, nor noones havynge no revenewes above x. li. shall pay nothynge. Nor also women maryed bycause their husbandes payeth; for the value of their husbandes shal be rekened as well for that they have by their wifes as of their owne. And as for clerkes and men of the church, prelates, abbottes, priours, chanons, curates and other, as is before sayde, if they be worthe above C. li. in revenewes by yere, in benefices of the church, or patrimony, or the one with the other, to the some of v. M. li. they shall pay iiii. li. for the first C. li. and for every C. li. after, tyll ye come to the some of v. M. li. xl. s. nor they shall pay nothyng for that they may spende above v. M. li. nor for their movables, and the value of their benefyces shal

be estemed after the rate of their dymes, whan that is payable, without any excepcion or privyledge. And as for noble men and men of the good townes, that may spende above the some of C. li. in revenewes, shall pay tyll they come to the some of v. M. li. for every C. xl. s. besyde iiii. li. of the first C. li. and the men of the gode townes in semblable maner tyll they come to M. li. of revenues; and as for the movables of the noble men that have nat C. li. of revenewes, their movables shal be estemed and rekenyd to the value of M. li. and no farther: and other men that have nat iiii. C. li. of revenewes, their goodes shal be rekenyd tyll they come to iiii. M. li. that is to say, C. li. of movables for x. li. of revenues, and after that rate to pay. And if a noble man have nat in revenues, but all onely C. li. and in movables nat past M. li. or that a noble man hath nat in revenues nat past iiii. C. li. nor in movables past iiii. M. and if it be part in movables, and part in revenewes, they must be estemyd togyder to the some of M. li. for the noble men, and to iiii. M. li. to other, and nat above. The Saturday the fyft day of Marche, the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.lvi. there rose a discencyon bytwene the commons of the towne of Arras and the great men of the same: and the commons slewe the same day mo than xvii. of the chefe personages of the towne; and on the Monday after they slewe other four and banisshed dyvers that were nat as than in the towne, and so the commons was as than chefe maisters in the towne.

CAP. CLV

Of an inposycion and gabell ordayned in Fraunce.

CAP. CLVI

How the French kynge toke the kyng of Naver and beheeded the erle of Harcourt and other at Roan.

ALSO the Tuesday the v. day of Aprill about the myddes of Lent, the Frenche kyng departed before day fro Menevell in harness, accompanyed with a CC. speares, amonge the which was therle of Anjowe his sonne, and the duke of Orleance his brother, the lorde John de Arthoys, erle of Ewe, the lorde Charles his brother, cosyn germayn to the kyng, the erle of Tankervyll, sir

CAP. CLVI

How the French kynge toke the kyng of Naver.

Arnolde Dandrehen, than marshall of Fraunce, and dyvers other to the nombre above sayd. The kyng and they came streyght to the castell of Rowan by the posterne and came nat in the towne; and there he founde in the hall at dyner with his sonne the dolphyne, Charles the kyng of Naverr, and John erle of Harcourt, and the lordes of Preaux, Gravyll, Clere and dyvers other. Ther the French kyng caused the kyng of Naver to be taken, therle of Harcourt, the lordes of Preaux, of Clere, sir Loys and sir Wylliam of Harcourt, bretherne to the erle, the lorde Frequent of Fryquant,[1] the lorde of Tournbeu, the lorde Maubeu of Mamesners, and two squyers, Olyver Doubles, and Johan Vaubatou and dyvers other. The kynge put them in prison, in dyverse chambers within the same castell, bycause that syth the newe reconsyliacion made for the deth of the lorde Charles, late constable of Fraunce, the kyng of Naverre had ymagined and treated dyvers thynges, to the damage and dyshonour of the Frenche kyng and of his realme; and therle of Harcourt had spoken injuryous wordes agaynst the kyng in the castell of Ruell, where the assemble was to conclude for the ayde to be gyven to the kynge, in lettyng to his power the same ayd to be graunted. Than the Frenche kyng dyned there, and after toke his horse and rodde out into a felde behynde the castell, called the felde of pardon, and thyder in two cartes was brought therle of Harcourt, the lorde Gravylle, the lorde Maubeu, and Olyver Doubles, and there all their heedes were stryken of, and after all foure drawen to the gybette of Rowan and there hanged, and their heedes sette on the gybette. The same day and the next day, the Frenche kynge delyvered all the other out of prison except thre, that is to say, Charles kyng of Naver, who was caryed to Parys, and put in prison, in the castell of Loure, and after into the chatelette: and certayne of the Frenche kynges counsell were apoynted to kepe him; also Fryquet and Vaubatou were put into the same prison. And therfore the lorde Philyppe of Naver helde in his handes dyvers castels pertayning to his brother, the kyng of Naverre, in Normandy: and, for all that the Frenche kynge sende to hym to delyver the same castels, yet he refused so to do; and he and the lorde God-

[1] *Friquet de Fricamps.*

CAP. CLVI

How the French kynge toke the kyng of Naver.

fray of Harcourt, assembled togyder dyvers enemys of the French kynges, and brought them into the contrey of Constantyne, the which countre they helde and kept fro the Frenche kyng.

The Wednysday after Ester, the yere of our Lorde God a M.CCC.lvi. sir Arnold Dandrehen, than marshall of France went to the towne of Arras, and ther wysely without any besynesse of men of warr, he toke mo than a hundred prisoners of them of the towne, suche as had made the rebellyon ther and slayne dyvers of the chiefe burgesses of the towne. And the next day he made xx. of them to be beheeded, and the other he kept styll in prison to knowe the kynges pleasure in that behalfe: and so by that meanes the towne was brought into trewe obeysance to the kyng. In the moneth of June the duke of Lancastre came into Constantyne, and fyll in company with the lorde Philyp of Naverr and the lorde Godfray of Harcourt: they were in all aboute a foure thousande fyghtyng men. They rode to Lyseux, to Orbec, to Pontheau, and refresshed the castell there, the which had ben besieged more than two monethes; but the lorde Robert of Hotetot, maister of the crosbowes in Fraunce, who had layne there at sieg with dyvers nobles and other departed fro the siege, whan they knewe of the commynge of the duke of Lancastre, and left behynde theym for hast their engyns and artillary and they of the castell toke all. Than the duke of Lancastre, and his company rode forthe, robbyng and pyllyng the townes and contrey as they passed toward Bretuell, the which they newely refresshed. And bycause that they knewe and founde the cyte and castell of Evreux to be newely yelded to the Frenche kynge, who had longe kept a siege there at, and also they sawe howe the cytie was brent and the cathedrall churche robbed, as well by the Naveroyse who yelded up the castell by composycyon, as by the Frenchemen that lay there at the siege, they left it: and than the duke of Lancastre, and the lorde Philyppe of Naverr, went to Vernueyll in Perche and toke the towne and castell, and robbed the towne and brent a great parte therof. The Frenche kyng who had made redy his assemble, assoone as he herde tidynges of the duke of Lancastre, he wente after hym with

CAP. CLVI
How the French kynge toke the kyng of Naver.

a great nombre of men of armes and fotemenne, and folowed them to Conde in goynge streyght to the towne of Vernveyll. Thanne the duke and his company went towardes the towne of the Egle, and the kynge folowed them tyll he came to Tuebufe, a two leages fro the towne of the Egle, and than there it was shewed to the kyng howe he coulde folowe no farther, for ther were suche forestes that his ennemyes myght take hym whan they lyste, soo that he shulde do but lese his labour to go any farther after them. Than the kyng retourned with all his hoost, and went to the castell of Thilyers, the whiche was in the handes of Navaroes: the kyng toke it, and sette men of warr therin. Than the kyng went to the castell of Bretuell, wherin were men of the kyng of Navers; there the kyng lay at siege the space of two monethes, and than the castell was gyven up, and they within went wher they lyst with their goodes and lyves saved.

CAP. CLVII

Of the assemble that the Frenche kyng made to fight with the prince of Wales who rode in Berry.

WHAN the Frenche kynge had made his journey, and reconquered townes and castelles in base Normandy pertayning as than to the kyng of Naverre whome he helde in prisonne, and was gone backe to the cytie of Parys, it was nat long after but that he herde howe the prince of Wales with a good nombre of men of warre was ferre entred into the countrey aprochyng the gode contrey of Berry. Than the kyng sayd and sware that he wolde ryde and fyght with hym wheresoever he founde hym: than the kyng made agayne a specyall assemble of all nobles and suche as helde of hym: his commaundement was that all maner of excuses layde a parte his letters ones sene, that every man, on payne of his dyspleasur shulde drawe and mete with hym in the marches of Bloyes and Torayne, for the entent to fyght with thenglysshmen. And the kyng to make the more hast, departed fro Parys and rode to Chartres, to here the better of suretie what thenglysshmen dyd. There

CAP. CLVII

Of the assemble that the Frenche kyng made to fight with the prince of Wales.

he rested, and dayly men of warre resorted thyder fro all partes, as of Auvergne, Berrey, Burgoyne, Lorayne, Heynault, Vermandoyse, Picardy, Bretayne, and Normandy; and ever as they came they were set forwarde and made their musters, and lodged in the countrey, by the assignement of the marshalles, the lorde Johan of Cleremont, and the lorde Arnolde Dandrehen. The kyng sende also great provisyon to all his fortresses and garysons in Anjowe, Poyctou, Dumayne, and Torayne, and into all the fortresses wher he thought thenglysshmen shulde passe, to the entent to close the passages from them and to kepe them fro vitayls, that they shulde fynde no forage for them nor their horses. Howe be it for all that, the prince and his company who were to the nombre of two M. men of armes and six M. archers, rode at their ease and had vitayls ynough, for they founde the contre of Auverne right plentyfull; but they wolde nat tary ther, but went forthe to make warre on their enemyes. They brent and exyled the contrey asmoch as they might, for whan they were entred into a towne and founde it well replenysshed of all thynges, they taryed ther a two or thre dayes to refresshe them; whan they departed they wolde distroy all the resydue, strike out the heedes of the vessels of wyne, and bren whete, barly and otes, and all other thynges to thyntent that their enemyes shulde have no ayde therof. And than they rode forthe and ever founde good contres and plentyfull; for in Berry, Torayne, Anjowe, Poyctou, and Mayne is a very plentyfull contre for men of warr. Thenglysshmen rode forthe in this maner tyll they came to the good cytie of Burges, and ther they made a gret skirmyssh at one of the gates: capitayns within were, the lorde of Consant, and the lorde Hutyn of Memels, who kept the cyte: ther was many feates of armes done. Thenglysshmen departed without any more doyng, and went to Issoldon a strong castell, the which was feersly assayled, and thyder cam all the hole hoost; howbeit they coud nat wyn it, the gentylmen defended it valyantly. Than they passed farther and toke their way to Vierron, a great towne and a good castell, but it was yvell closed and the peple ther nat sufficyent to make defence, therfore it was won perforce; and ther they founde wyne and other vitayls gret

CAP. CLVII
Of the assemble that the Frenche kyng made to fight with the prince of Wales.

plenty, and taryed there thre dayes to refresshe all their host; and thyder came tidynges to the prince how the French kyng was at Charters, with a great assemble of men of warr, and howe that all the townes and passages above the ryver of Loyre were closed and kept that none coude passe the ryver. Than the prince was counselled to returne and to passe by Torayne and Poyctou and so that way to Bourdeaux. Than the prince toke that way and returned: whan they had done with the towne that they were in their pleasure, and taken the castell and slayne the moost part that were within, than they rode towarde Remorentyne. The French kyng had send into that countrey thre great barownes to kepe the fronters there; the lorde of Craon, the lorde Boucequaut, and the hermyte of Chamont, who with thre C. speres rode into that contrey in costyng thenglysshmen, and had folowed them a sixe dayes togyder, and coude never fynde avantage to set on them, for thenglysshmen rode ever so wysely, that they coude nat entre on them on any syde to their advauntage. On a day the Frenchmen putte themselfe in a busshement nere to Remorentyne, at a marveylous strayte passage by the whiche the Englysshmen must nedes passe: the same day ther was departed fro the princes bataile, by leave of the marshals, the lorde Bartylmewe of Breches, the lorde of Musydent Gascoyne, the lorde Petyton Courton, the lorde Dalawarre, the lorde Basset, the lorde Danyell Paseler, the lorde Rycharde of Pontchardon, the lorde Nowell Lorynch, the yong lorde Spencer, Edwarde, and the lorde Dambretycourte with two hundred menne of armes to ronne before Remorentyne. They passed foreby the Frenchmens busshment and was nat ware of them: assone as they were passed, the Frenchmen brake out and came after them feersly; thenglysshmen, who were well forwarde, herde the noyse of the horses commynge after them, and parceyved how they were their ennemyes. They tourned and stode styll and abode the Frenchmen, who came on them with great randon, their speares in their restes, and so came ronnyng to thenglysshmen, who stode styll and suffred them to passe, and there was nat of them past a fyve or six overthrowen at that first metyng. Than thenglysshmen dasshed forthe their

horses after the Frenchemen; there was a feerse skyrmysshe and endured long, and many knightes and squyres beaten downe on both partes and dyvers taken and rescued agayn, so that a long season no man coulde tell who had the better; so long they fought that the batayle of thenglysshe marshalles aproched. And whan the Frenchmen sawe theym commyng along by a woode syde, they fledde he that might best, and toke their wayes to Remorentyne, and the Englysshmen in the chase natte sparyng their horses. There was a harde batayle, and many a man overthrowen; howe be it the one halfe of the Frenchmen entred into the castell; the thre lordes saved theymselfe, and dyverse other knyghtes and squyers that were well horsed. Howebeit the towne was taken at their fyrst commynge, for the Frenchmen all entred into the castell.

CAP. CLVII Of the assemble that the Frenche kyng made to fight with the prince of Wales.

CAP. CLVIII

Howe the Prince of Wales toke the castell of Remorentyne.

THE prince of Wales herde how his fore ryders were a fightyng; than he toke that way and came into the towne of Remorentyne, wherin was moche of his people studyeng howe they myght get the castell. Than the prince commaunded the lord sir John Chandos to go and speke with theym of the castell: than sir Johan went to the castell gate and made signe to speke with some person within. They that kept the watche ther demaunded what was his name and who dyd sende hym thyder; he shewed them: than sir Boucyquaut and the hermyte of Chamount came to the barryers. Whan sir Johan sawe theym he saluted them curtesly, and sayde, Sirs, I am sende hyder to you fro my lorde the prince, who wyll be ryght courtesse unto his ennemyes as me thynketh; he sayeth, that if ye wyll yelde upp this fortresse to hym and yelde your selfe prisoners, he wyll receyve you to mercy and kepe you good company of armes. The lorde Boucyquaut sayde, We ar nat in purpose to putte our selfe in that case; it were great folly, syth we have no need so to do: we thynke to defende

CAP. CLVIII

Howe the Prince of Wales toke the castell of Remorentyne.

our selfe. So they departed, and the prince lodged there, and his men in the towne without at their ease. The next day every man was armed and under his baner, and beganne to assayle the castell right feersly; the archers were on the dykes, and shotte so holly togyder that none durste scant apere at their defences. Some swame over the dykes on bordes and other thynges with hokes and pikes in their handes, and myned at the walles; and they within cast downe great stones and potts with lyme: there was slayne on the Englysshe partie a squyer called Remond Derge du Lache; he was of the company of the captall of Beoffes.[1] This assaut dured all the day without rest; at nyght the Englysshmen drewe to their logynges, and so past the nyght; in the mornyng, whan the sonne was rysen the marshals of the hoost sowned the trumpettes. Than all such as were ordayned to gyve the assaut were redy appayrelled, at the whiche assaut the prince was personally, and by reason of his presence greatly encouraged the Englysshmen; and nat ferre fro hym there was a squyer, called Bernarde, slayne with a stonne; than the prince sware that he wolde nat depart thens tyll he had the castell and all them within at his pleasure. Than the assaut enforced on every part: finally they sawe that by assautes they coulde nat wyn the castell, wherfore they ordayned engins to caste in wylde fyre into the base court; and so they dyde that all the base court was a fyre, so that the fyre multiplyed in such wyse that it toke into the coverynge of a great towre covered with rede. And whan they within sawe that they must other yelde to the wyll of the prince or els peryshe by fyre, than all thre lordes came downe and yelded them to the prince, and so the prince toke them with hym as his prisoners and the castell was left voyde.

[1] *Buch.*

CAP. CLIX

Of the great hoost that the Frenche kyng brought to the batayle of Poycters.

AFTER the takyng of the castell of Remorentyne and of them that were therin, the prince than and his company rode as they dyde before, distroyeng the countre aprochyng to Anjowe and to Tourayne. The Frenche kyng, who was at Charters, departed and came to Bloyes and ther taryed two dayes, and than to Amboyse and the next day to Loches; and than he herde howe that the prince was at Towrayne and how that he was retournyng by Poyctou: ever the Englysshmen were costed by certayne expert knyghtes of France, who alway made report to the kyng what the Englysshmen dyd. Than the kynge came to the Haye in Towrayne, and his men had passed the ryver of Loyre, some at the bridge of Orleance and some at Mehun, at Saulmure, at Bloyes, and at Towrs and wher as they might; they were in nomber a xx. thousande men of armes besyde other; ther were a xxvi. dukes and erles and mo than sixscore baners, and the foure sonnes of the kyng, who were but yonge, the duke Charles of Normandy, the lorde Loyes, that was fro thensforthe duke of Anjewe, and the lorde Johan duke of Berry, and the lorde Philyppe, who was after duke of Burgoyne. The same season pope Innocent the sixt send the lorde Bertrand, cardynall of Pyergourt and the lorde Nycholas, cardynall of the Egle,[1] into France, to treat for a peace bytwene the Frenche kyng and all his enemyes; first bytwene hym and the kyng of Naverr, who was in prison: and these cardynalles often tymes spake to the kyng for his delyverance duryng the sege at Bretuell, but they coude do nothyng in that behalfe. Than the cardynall of Pyergourt went to Tours, and ther he herde howe the Frenche kynge hasted sore to fynde the Englysshmen; than he rode to Poycters, for he herde howe bothe the hoostes drewe thyderward. The Frenche kyng herde howe the prince hasted greatly to retourne, and the kyng feared that he shulde scape hym and so departed fro Hay in Tourayne, and all his

[1] *Urgel.*

CAP. CLIX
Of the great hoost that the Frenche kyng brought to the batayle of Poycters.

company, and rode to Chauvygny, wher he taryed that Thursday in the towne and without along by the ryver of Creuse; and the next day the kyng passed the ryver at the bridge there, wenyng that the Englysshemen had ben before hym, but they were nat. Howe be it they pursued after and passed the bridge that day mo than threscore thousand horses, and dyvers other passed at Chastelerault, and ever as they passed they tooke theyr way to Poicters. On the other syde the prince wyst nat truely where the Frenchmen were, but they supposed that they were nat farre of, for they coude nat fynde no more forage, wherby they had gret faut in their hoost of vitayle, and some of them repented that they had distroyed so moch as they had done before whan they were in Berry, Anjowe and Torayne, and in that they had made no better provision. The same Friday thre great lordes of France, the lorde of Craon, the lorde Raoull of Coucy and therle of Joigny, taryed all day in the towne of Chauvygny, and part of their companyes; the Saturday they passed the bridge and folowed the kyng, who was than a thre leages before, and tooke the waye amonge busshes without a wode syde to go to Poicters. The same Saturdaye the prince and his company dysloged fro a lytell vyllage therby, and sent before hym certayne currours to se if they myght fynde any adventure and to here where the Frenchmen were; they were in nombre a threscore men of armes well horsed, and with them was the lorde Eustace Dambreticourt, and the lorde John of Guystelles: and by adventure the Englysshmen and Frenchemen mette togyder by the forsayde wode syde. The Frenchmen knewe anone howe they were their ennemyes; than in hast they dyd on their helmyttes and displayed their baners and came a great pase towardes thenglysshmen; they were in nombre a two hundred men of armes. Whan the Englysshmen sawe them, and that they were so great a nombre, than they determined to flye and let the Frenchmen chase them, for they knewe well the prince with his hoost was nat farre behynde; than they tourned their horses and toke the corner of the wood, and the Frenchmen after theym cryenge their cryes and made great noyse. And as they chased, they came on the princes batayle or they

were ware therof themselfe: the prince taryed ther to have worde agayne fro them that he send forthe: the lorde Raoll of Coucy with his baner went so farre forward that he was under the princes baner; ther was a sore batayle and the knyght fought valiantly. Howe be it he was there takenne; and the erle of Wynguy,[1] the vycount of Bruce, the lorde of Chavygny and all the other takene or slayne, but a fewe that scaped. And by the prisoners the prince knewe howe the French kynge folowed hym in suche wyse that he coude nat eschue the batayle; than he assembled togyder all his men and commaunded that no man shulde go before the marshals baners. Thus the prince rode that Saturday fro the mornyng tyll it was agaynst night, so that he came within two lytell leages of Poicters: than the captall de Buz, sir Aymenon of Punyers, the lorde Bartylmewe of Brunes and the lorde Eustace Dambretycourt, all these the prince sende forthe to se yf they myght knowe what the Frenchmen dyd. These knyghtes departed with two hundred men of armes well horsed; they rodde so farre that they sawe the great batayle of the kynges; they sawe all the feldes covered with men of armes. These Englysshmen coud nat forbere, but sette on the tayle of the Frenche hoost and cast downe many to the yerth and toke dyvers prisoners, so that the hooste beganne to styre, and tidynges therof came to the Frenche kyng as he was entryng into the cytie of Poycters. Than he retourned agayne and made all his hoost do the same, so that Saturday it was very late or he was lodged in the felde. Thenglissh currours retourned agayne to the prince and shewed hym all that they sawe and knewe, and said howe the Frenche hoost was a great nombre of people. Well, sayde the prince, in the name of God lette us now study howe we shall fyght with them at our advauntage. That night the Englysshmen lodged in a strong place among hedges, vynes and busshes, and their hoost well watched, and so was the Frenche hoost.

CAP. CLIX
Of the great hoost that the Frenche kyng brought to the batayle of Poycters.

[1] *Joigny.*

CAP. CLX

Of the order of the Frenchemen before the batayle of Poycters.

ON the Sonday in the mornynge the Frenche kynge, who hadde great desyre to fight with the Englysshmen, herd his masse in his pavilyon, and was houseled and his foure sonnes with hym. After masse ther came to hym the duke of Orleaunce, the duke of Burbon, therle of Pontheu, the lorde Jaques of Burbone, the duke of Athenes, constable of France, the erle of Tankervyll, the erle of Salebruce,[1] the erle of Dammartyne, the erle of Vantador, and dyvers other great barownes of France and of other neyghbours holdynge of Fraunce, as the lorde Cleremont, the lorde Arnolde Dandrehen, marshall of France, the lorde of saynt Venont, the lorde John of Landas, the lorde Eustace Ribamont, the lorde Fyennes, the lorde Geffray of Chargny, the lord Chatellon, the lorde of Suly, the lorde of Neell, sir Robert Duras and dyvers other; all these with the kyng went to counsell. Than finally hit was ordayned that all maner of men shulde drawe into the felde, and every lorde to display his baner and to set forth in the name of God and saynt Denice; than trumpets blewe up through the hoost and every man mounted on horsebacke and went into the felde, wher they sawe the kynges baner wave with the wynde. There myght a been sene great nobles of fayre harnesse and riche armory of baners and penons: for there was all the flowre of France; ther was none durst abyde at home without he wolde be shamed for ever. Than it was ordayned by the advyce of the constable and marshals to be made thre batayls, and in ech warde xvi. M. men of armes all mustred and past for men of armes. The first batayle the duke of Orleaunce to govern, with xxxvi. baners and twyse as many penons; the seconde, the duke of Normandy and his two bretherne the lorde Loys and the lorde John; the thirde, the kyng hymselfe: and whyle that these batayls were settyng in aray, the kyng called to hym the lorde Eustace Rybamont,

[1] *Sarrebruck.*

CAP. CLX

Of the order of the Frenchemen before the batayle of Poycters.

the lorde John of Landas and the lorde Richarde of Beawyeu, and sayd to them, Sirs, ryde on before to se the dealyng of thenglysshmen, and advyse well what nombre they be and by what meanes we may fight with theym, other afote or a horsebacke. These thre knyghtes rode forth and the kynge was on a wyght courser and sayde a high to his men, Sirs, among you whan ye be at Parys, at Chartres, at Roan, or at Orleaunce, than ye do thret thenglysshmen, and desyre to be in armes out agaynst theym; nowe ye become therto: I shall nowe shewe you them; nowe shewe forthe your yvell wyll that ye bere them and reveng your dyspleasurs and damages that they have done you, for without dout we shall fyght with them. Suche as herde hym sayd, Sir, a Godesname so be it, that wolde we se gladly. Therwith the thre knyghtes retourned agayne to the kyng, who demaunded of them tidynges; than sir Eustace of Rybamont answered for all (and sayde) Sir, we have sene the Englysshmen: by estymacion they be two thousande men of armes and four thousand archers and a fyftene hundred of other. Howebeit they be in a stronge place, and as farre as we can imagyne they ar in one batayle; howbeit they be wysely ordred, and alonge the way they have fortifyed strongly the hedges and busshes; one part of their archers are along by the hedge, so that none can go nor ryde that way, but must pass by them, and that way must ye go and ye purpose to fyght with them. In this hedge there is but one entre and one yssue by likelyhode that four horsemen may ryde a front; at thende of this hedge, where as no man can go nor ryde, there be men of armes afote and archers afore them in maner of a herse, so that they woll nat be lightely disconfyted. Well, sayd the kyng, what woll ye than counsayle us to do. Sir Eustace sayde, Sir, lette us all be a fote, except thre hundred men of armes, well horsed, of the best in your hoost and moost hardyest, to the entent they somwhat to breke and to opyn the archers, and thane your batayls to folowe on quickely afote and so to fight with their men of armes hand to hande. This is the best advyce that I canne gyye you; if any other thynke any other waye better, let hym speke. The kyng sayd, Thus shall it be done: than the two marshalles rode fro batayle

CAP. CLX Of the order of the Frenchemen before the batayle of Poycters.

to batayle and chose out a thre C. knyghtes and squyers of the moost expert men of armes of all the hoost, every man well armed and horsed. Also it was ordayned that the bataylles of Almayns shulde abyde styll on horsebacke to confort the marshalles, if nede were, wherof the earle of Salesbruce, the erle of Neydo, and the erle of Nosco[1] were capitayns. Kynge Johan of France was ther armed, and xx. other in his apayrell; and he dyd put the gyding of his eldest sonne to the lorde of saynt Venant, the lorde of Landas, and the lorde Thybault of Bodenay:[2] and the lorde Reynolde of Quenoll,[3] called the archepreest, was armed in the armoure of the yong erle of Alanson.

[1] *Nassau.*

[2] *Voudenay.*

[3] *Arnold of Cervoles.*

CAP. CLXI

Howe the cardynall of Pyergourt treated to make agrement bytwene the Frenche kyng and the prince before the batell of Poycters.

WHAN the Frenche kynges batayls was ordred and every lorde under his banner among their owne men, than it was commaunded that every man shulde cutte their speres to a fyve fote long and every man to put of their spurres. Thus as they were redy to aproche, the cardinall of Piergort came in great hast to the king; he came the same mornynge from Poycters; he kneled downe to the kyng and helde up his handes and desyred hym for Goddessake a lytell to absteyne settynge forwarde tyll he had spoken with hym; than he sayde, Sir, ye have here all the floure of your realme agaynst a handfull of Englysshmen, as to regarde your company: and sir, if ye may have them acorded to you without batayle, it shal be more profitable and honourable to have theym by that maner rather than to adventure so noble chivalry as ye have here present: sir, I requyre you in the name of God and humylyte, that I may ryde to the prince, and shewe hym what danger ye have hym in. The kynge sayd, It pleaseth me well, but retourne agayne shortely. The cardynall departed and dilygently he rode to the prince, who was among his men afote: than the cardynall alighted and came to the prince, who receyved

CAP. CLXI

Howe the cardynall of Pyergourt treated to make agrement bytwene the Frenche kyng and the prince.

hym curtesly. Than the cardynall, after his salutacyon made, he sayde, Certaynly, fayre son, if you and your counsayle advyse justely the puyssaunce of the Frenche kynge, ye woll suffre me to treat to make a peace bytwene you and I may. The prince, who was yong and lusty, said, Sir, the honour of me and of my people saved, I wolde gladly fall to any reasonable way. Than the cardynall sayd, Sir, ye say well, and I shall acorde you and I can; for it shulde be great pytie yf so many noble men and other as be here on bothe parties shulde come togyder by batayle. Than the cardynall rode agayne to the kyng (and sayd) Sir, ye nede nat to make any great haste to fyght with your ennemyes, for they canne nat flye fro you though they wolde, they be in suche a ground; wherfore, sir, I requyre you forbere for this day tyll to morowe the son rysinge. The kynge was lothe to agree therto, for some of his counsayle wolde nat conset to it; but finally the cardynall shewed such reasons, that the kyng acorded that respyte: and in the same place there was pyght up a pavilyon of reed sylke fresshe and rych, and gave leave for that day every man to drawe to their lodgynges, except the constables and marshalles batayls. That Sonday all the day the cardynall traveyled in ridynge fro the one hoost to the other gladly to agree them; but the Frenche kynge wolde nat agree without he myght have foure of the princypallest of the Englysshmen at his pleasure, and the prince and all the other to yelde themselfe simply; howe be it ther were many great offers made. The prince offred to rendre into the kynges handes all that ever he had wonne in that voyage, townes and castels, and to quyte all prisoners that he or any of his men had taken in that season, and also to swere nat to be armed agaynst the Frenche kyng in sevyn yere after; but the kyng and his counsayle wolde none therof: the uttermast that he wolde do was, that the prince and a C. of his knyghtes shulde yelde theymselfe into the kynges prison, otherwyse he wolde nat; the whiche the prince wolde in no wyse agre unto. In the meane season that the cardynall rode thus bytwene the hoostes in trust to do some good, certayne knyghtes of France and of Englande bothe rode forthe the same Sonday, bycause it was truse

CAP. CLXI

Howe the cardynall of Pyergourt treated to make agrement bytwene the Frenche kyng and the prince.

for that day, to cost the hoostes and to beholde the dealyng of their enemyes. So it fortuned that the lorde John Chandos rode the same day coostyng the French host, and in like maner the lorde of Cleremont, one of the Frenche marshalles, had ryden forthe and aviewed the state of the Englysshe hoost; and as these two knyghtes retourned towardes their hoostes they mette togyder; eche of theym bare one maner of devyce, a blewe lady enbraudred in a sone beame above on their apayrell. Than the lorde Cleremont sayd, Chandos, howe long have ye taken on you to bere my devyce? Nay, ye bere myne, sayd Chandos, for it is as well myne as yours. I deny that, sayd Cleremont, but and it were nat for the truse this day bytwene us, I shulde make it good on you incontynent that ye have no right to bere my devyce. A sir, sayd Chandos, ye shall fynde me to morowe redy to defend you and to prove by feate of armes that it is as well myne as yours. Than Cleremont sayd, Chandos, these be well the wordes of you Englysshmen, for ye can devyce nothyng of newe, but all that ye se is good and fayre. So they departed without any more doyng, and eche of them returned to their hoost. The cardynall of Pyergort coude in no wyse that Sonday make any agrement bytwene the parties, and whan it was nere nyght he returned to Poicters. That night the Frenchmen toke their ease: they had provision ynough, and the Englysshmen had great defaut; they coude get no forage, nor they coude nat depart thense without danger of their ennemyes. That Sonday thenglysshmen made great dykes and hedges about their archers to be the more stronger; and on the Monday in the mornynge the prince and his company were redy apayrelled as they were before, and about the sonne rysing in lyke maner were the Frenchmen. The same morning be tymes the cardynall came agayne to the Frenche hoost and thought by his preachyng to pacify the parties; but than the Frenchmen sayd to hym, Retourne whyder ye woll; bring hyder no mo wordes of treaty nor peace; and ye love yourselfe depart shortely. Whan the cardynall sawe that he traveyled in vayne, he toke leave of the kyng and than he went to the prince and sayd, Sir, do what ye canne, their is no remedy but

CAP. CLXI
Howe the cardynall of Pyergourt treated to make agrement bytwene the Frenche kyng and the prince.

to abyde the batayle, for I can fynde none acorde in the Frenche kyng. Than the prince sayd, The same is our entent and all our people; God helpe the right. So the cardynall retourned to Poycters. In his company there were certayne knyghtes and squyers, men of armes, who were more favourable to the Frenche kyng than to the prince; and whan they sawe that the parties shulde fight, they stale fro their maisters and went to the Frenche hoost, and they made their captayne the catelayne of Ampostre, who was as than ther with the cardynall, who knewe nothynge therof tyll he was come to Poycters. The certentie of the order of the Englysshmen was shewed to the Frenche kyng, except they had ordayned thre hundred men a horsebacke, and as many archers a horsebacke, to coost under covert of the mountayne and to strike into the batayle of the duke of Normandy, who was under the mountayne afote. This ordynaunce they had made of newe, that the Frenchmen knewe nat of; the prince was with his batayle downe amonge the vynes, and had closed in the wekyst parte with their caryages. Nowe wyll I name some of the princypall lordes and knyghtes that were ther with the prince: the erle of Warwyke, therle of Suffolke, the erle of Salisbury, therle of Stafford, the lorde John Chandos, the lorde Richarde Stafford, the lorde Reynold Cobham, the lorde Spencer, the lorde James Audeley, the lorde Peter his brother, the lorde Bercley, the lorde Basset, the lord Waren, the lorde Dalawar, the lorde Maulyne, the lorde Wylly,[1] the lorde Bartylmewe de Brunes, the lord of Felton, the lorde Rychard of Pembruge, the lorde Stephyne of Constracyon,[2] the lorde Braffeton,[3] and other Englysshmen: and of Gascon, there was the lorde of Prunes, the lorde of Buger,[4] the captall of Buz, the lorde Johan of Chamont, the lorde Delaspare, the lorde of Rosen, the lorde of Conseu,[5] the lorde of Montferant, the lorde of Landuras, the lorde Soulech of Lestrade,[6] and other that I can nat name: and of Heynowers, the lorde Eustace Dambretycourt, the lorde John of Guystels, and two other strangers, the lorde Danyell Phasell, and the lorde Denyce of Moerbertre.[7] All the princes company past nat an viii. M. men one and other, and the Frenchmen were a lx. M. fightyng men, wherof ther were mo than thre thousande knightes.

[1] *Willoughby.*
[2] *Cosington.*
[3] *Bradeston.*
[4] *Langoiran.*
[5] *Condom.*
[6] *Soudic of Latrau.*
[7] *Morbekc.*

CAP. CLXII

Of the batell of Poycters bytwene the prince of Wales and the Frenche kyng.

WHANNE the prince sawe that he shuld have batell and that the cardynall was gone without any peace or trewse makynge, and sawe that the Frenche kyng dyd sette but lytell store by him, he said than to his men, Now sirs, though we be but a small company as in regarde to the puyssance of our ennemyes, let us nat be abasshed therfore: for the vyctorie lyeth nat in the multitude of people, but wher as God wyll sende it. Yf it fortune that the journey be ours, we shal be the moost honoured people of all the worlde; and if we dye in our right quarell, I have the kyng my father and bretherne, and also ye have good frendes and kynsmen; these shall revenge us: therfor sirs, for Goddessake, I requyre you do your devoyers this day; for if God be pleased and saynt George, this day ye shall se me a good knyght. These wordes and suche other that the prince spake conforted all his people. The lorde sir John Chandos that day never went fro the prince, nor also the lorde James Audeley of a great season: but whane he sawe that they shulde nedes fight, he sayd to the prince, Sir, I have served alwayes truely my lorde your father and you also, and shall do as long as I lyve; I say this bicause I made ones a vowe that the first batayle that other the kynge your father or any of his chyldren shulde be at, howe that I wolde be one of the first setters on, or els to dye in the payne; therfore I requyre your grace, as in rewarde for any servyce that ever I dyde to the king your father or to you, that you woll gyve me lycence to depart fro you and to sette my selfe there as I may acomplysshe my vowe. The prince acorded to his desyre and sayde, Sir James, God gyve you this day that grace to be the best knyght of all other: and so toke hym by the hande. Than the knyght departed fro the prince, and went to the formast front of all the batayles, all onely acompanyed with foure squyers, who promysed nat to fayle

hym. This lorde James was a right sage and a valyant knyght, and by hym was moche of the hoost ordayned and governed the day before. Thus sir James was in the front of the batayle redy to fight with the batayle of the marshalles of Fraunce. In lykewyse the lorde Eustace Dambreticourt dyd his payne to be one of the formast to sette on; whan sir James Audeley began to sette forwarde to his ennemyes, it fortuned to sir Eustace Dambretycourt as ye shall here after. Ye have herde before howe the Almayns in the French host were apoynted to be styll a horsebacke. Sir Eustace beyng a horsebacke layed his spear in the rest and ran into the Frenche batayle; and than a knyght of Almaygne, called the lorde Loyes of Coucoubras,[1] who bare a shelde sylver, fyve rosses goules; and sir Eustace bare ermyns, two hamedes of goules. Whan this Almaygne sawe the lorde Eustace come fro his company, he rode agaynst hym and they mette so rudely, that bothe knightes fell to the yerth. The Almayne was hurt in the shoulder, therfore he rose nat so quickely as dyde sir Eustace, who whan he was up and had taken his breth, he came to the other knyght as he lay on the grounde: but thane fyve other knyghtes of Almayne came on hym all at ones and bare hym to the yerth; and so perforce there he was taken prisoner and brought to the erle of Nosco,[2] who as than toke no hede of hym; and I can nat say whyther they sware him prisoner or no, but they tyed hym to a chare and there lette hym stande. Than the batayle began on all partes, and the batayls of the marshals of Fraunce aproched, and they set forthe that were apoynted to breke the ray of the archers. They entred a horsebacke into the way where the great hedges were on bothe sydes sette full of archers; assone as the men of armes entred, the archers began to shote on bothe sydes and dyd slee and hurt horses and knyghtes, so that the horses whan they felt the sharpe arowes they wolde in no wyse go forward, but drewe abacke and flang and toke on so feersly, that many of them fell on their maisters, so that for preace they coude nat ryse agayne; in so moche that the marshals batayle coude never come at the prince: certayne knyghtes and squyers that were well horsed passed through tharchers and thought to aproche to the prince,

CAP. CLXII
Of the batell of Poycters bytwene the prince of Wales and the Frenche kyng.

[1] *Recombes.*

[2] *Nassau.*

CAP. CLXII Of the batell of Poycters bytwene the prince of Wales and the Frenche kyng.

but they coude nat. The lorde James Audeley, with his four squyers was in the front of that batell and there dyd marvels in armes; and by great prowes he came and fought with sir Arnolde Dandrehen under his owne baner, and ther they fought longe togyder, and sir Arnolde was there sore handled. The batayle of the marshals began to dysorder by reason of the shot of the archers with the ayde of the men of armes, who came in among them and slewe of them and dyd what they lyst; and ther was the lorde Arnold Dandrehen taken prisoner by other men than by sir James Audeley or by his four squiers, for that day he never toke prisoner, but alwayes fought and went on his enemyes. Also on the French partie, the lorde Johan Cleremont fought under his owne baner as long as he coude endure, but ther he was beten downe and coude nat be relyved nor ransomed, but was slayne without mercy; some sayde it was bicause of the wordes that he had the day before to sir John Chandos. So within a short space the marshals batayls were disconfyted, for they fell one upon another and coude nat go forth; and the Frenchmen that were behynde and coude nat get forwarde reculed backe and came on the batayle of the duke of Normandy, the which was great and thicke and were afote: but anon they began to opyn behynde: for whan they knewe that the marshals batayle was dysconfited, they toke their horses and departed, he that might best. Also they sawe a rowt of Englysshmen commynge downe a lytell mountayne a horsebacke, and many archers with them, who brake in on the syde of the dukes batayle. Trewe to say, the archers dyd their company that day great advauntage, for they shotte so thicke that the Frenchmen wyst nat on what syde to take hede; and lytell and lytell the Englysshmen wanne grounde on theym. And whan the men of armes of Englande sawe that the marshals batayle was dysconfited and that the dukes batayle begane to dysorder and opyn, they lept than on their horses, the whiche they had redy by them; than they assembled togyder and cryed Saynt George, Gyen: and the lorde Chandos sayd to the prince, Sir, take your horse and ryde forth, this journey is yours: God is this day in your handes: gette us to the French kynges batayle, for ther lyeth all the

CAP. CLXII
Of the batell of Poycters bytwene the prince of Wales and the Frenche kyng.

sore of the mater; I thynke verily by his valyantnesse he woll nat flye: I trust we shall have hym by the grace of God and saynt George, so he be well fought withall; and sir, I herde you say that this day I shulde se you a good knyght. The prince sayde, Lette us go forthe, ye shall nat se me this day retourne backe, and sayd, Avaunce baner, in the name of God and of saynt George. The knyght that bare it dyde his commaundement: there was than a sore batayle and a perylous, and many a man overthrowen, and he that was ones downe coud nat be relyved agayne without great socoure and ayde. As the prince rode and entred in amonge his ennemyes, he sawe on his ryght hande, in a lytell busshe lyeng deed the lorde Robert of Duras and his baner by hym, and a ten or twelfe of his men about hym. Than the prince sayd to two of his squyers and to thre archers, Sirs, take the body of this knyght on a targe and bere hym to Poycters, and present him fro me to the cardynall of Pyergourt, and say howe I salute hym by that token; and this was done. The prince was enformed that the cardynalles men were on the felde agaynst hym, the which was nat pertayning to the right order of armes, for men of the churche that cometh and goeth for treaty of peace ought nat by reason to ber harnes nor to fyght for neyther of the parties: they ought to be indyfferent: and bycause these men had done so, the prince was dyspleased with the cardynall, and therfore he sende unto hym his nephue the lorde Robert of Duras deed. And the cathelayn of Ampostre was takenne, and the prince wolde have had his heed stryken of, bycause he was pertaynynge to the cardynall, but than the lorde Chandos sayd, Sir, suffre for a season; entende to a gretter mater, and paradventure the cardynall wyll make suche excuse that ye shal be content. Than the prince and his company dressed them on the batayle of the duke of Athenes, constable of France: there was many a manne slayne and cast to the yerth. As the Frenchmen fought in companyes, they cryed Mountjoy saynt Denyce, and the Englysshmen Saynt George, Gyen. Anone the prince with his company met with the batayle of Almaygnes, wherof the erle of Salesbruce, the erle Nosco, and therle Neydo were capitayns, but in a short space they were put to flyght: the archers shotte so holly togyder that

CAP. CLXII
Of the batell of Poycters bytwene the prince of Wales and the Frenche kyng.

none durst come in their dangers; they slewe many a man that coulde nat come to no raunsome; these thre erles was ther slayne, and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers of their company: and ther was the lorde Dambretycourt rescued by his owne men and sette on horsebacke, and after he dyde that day many feates of armes and toke gode prisoners. Whan the duke of Normandyes batayle sawe the prince aproche, they thought to save themselfe, and so the duke and the kynges chyldren, the erle of Poycters, and the erle of Tourayne, who were ryght yong, byleved their governours and so departed fro the felde, and with them mo than eyght hundred speares, that strake no stroke that day. Howebeit the lorde Guysshard Dangle, and the lorde John of Sayntre, who were with the erle of Poicters, wolde nat flye, but entred into the thyckest prease of the batayle. The kynges thre sonnes toke the way to Chamigny; and the lorde John of Landas, and the lorde Thybault of Woodney,[1] who were sette to awayt on the duke of Normandy, whan they had brought the duke a long leage fro the batayle, than they tooke leave of the duke and desyred the lorde of saynt Venant, that he shulde nat leave the duke, but to bring hym in savegarde, wherby he shulde wyn more thanke of the kynge than to abyde styll in the felde; than they met also the duke of Orleaunce and a great company with hym, who were also departed fro the felde with clere handes: ther were many good knyghtes and squyers, though that their maisters departed fro the felde, yet they hadde rather a dyed, than to have had any reproche. Than the kynges batayle came on the Englysshmen; there was a sore fyght and many a great stroke gyven and receyved. The kyng and his yongest sonne mette with the batayle of thenglysshe marshalles, therle of Warwyke and therle of Suffolke, and with theym the Gascons, the captall of Buz, the lorde of Pomyers, the lorde Amery of Charre,[2] the lorde of Mucydent, the lorde of Languran, and the lorde de la Strade.[3] To the Frenche partie there came tyme ynough, the lorde Johan of Landas, and the lorde of Woodney: they alyghted afote and wente into the kynges batayle; and a lytell besyde fought the duke of Athenes, constable of France, and a lytell above hym the duke of Burbone, and

[1] *Voudenay.*

[2] *Tastes.*

[3] *De Latrau.*

CAP. CLXII
Of the batell of Poycters bytwene the prince of Wales and the Frenche kyng.

many good knyghtes of Burbonoyse, and of Picardy with hym; and a lytell on the one syde ther were the Poytevyns, the lorde de Pons, the lorde of Partney, the lorde of Dampmare, the lorde of Montaboton[1] the lorde of Suggeres, the lorde Johan Sayntre, the lorde Guyssharde Dangle, the lorde Argenton, the lorde of Lymyers, the lorde of Mountandre, and dyverse other, also the Vycount of Rochevart,[2] and the erle of Daunoy:[3] and of Burgone, the lorde James of Beauyeu, the lorde de la Castell Vilayn, and other: in another parte, there was the erle of Vantadowre, and of Mounpenser, the lorde James of Burbone, the lorde Johan Darthoyes, and also the lorde James his brother, the lorde Arnolde of Cervolle, called the Arche preest, armed for the yonge erle of Alansonne: and of Auvergne, there was the lorde of Marcuell,[4] the lorde de la Towre, the lorde of Chalenton, the lorde of Montague, the lorde of Rochfort, the lorde de la Chayre,[5] the lorde Dachone; and of Lymosyn, there was the lorde Delmall,[6] the lorde of Norwell,[7] the lorde of Pers Buffier: and of Pycardie, there was the lorde Wyllyam of Nerle, the lorde Arnolde of Renewall, the lorde Geffray of saynt Dygier, the lorde of Chamy, the lorde of Heley, the lorde of Mounsaunt, the lorde of Hangyes and dyvers other: and also in the kynges batayle ther was therle Duglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valyantly, but whan he sawe the dysconfyture, he departed and saved hymselfe, for in no wyse he wolde be takenne of the Englysshmen, he had rather ben there slayne. On the Englysshe parte the lorde James Awdeley with the ayde of his foure squyers fought alwayes in the chyefe of the batayle: he was soore hurte in the body and in the vysage: as longe as his breth served hym he fought; at laste at the ende of the batayle his foure squyers tooke and brought hym oute of the felde, and layed hym under a hedge syde for to refresshe hym, and they unarmed hym, and bounde up his woundes as well as they coulde. On the Frenche partie kynge Johan was that day a full right good knyght; if the fourth part of his menne hadde done their devoyers as well as he dydde, the journey hadde ben his by all lykelyhode. Howebeit they were all slayne and takenne that were there, excepte a fewe that saved themselfe that were with the

[1] *Tannay-Bouton.*
[2] *Rochechouart.*
[3] *Aunay.*
[4] *Mercœur.*
[5] *d'Apchier.*
[6] *de Melval.*
[7] *Mareuil.*

CAP. CLXII Of the batell of Poycters bytwene the prince of Wales and the Frenche kyng.

kynge. There was slayne the duke Peter of Burbon, the lorde Guyssharde of Beaujeu, the lorde of Landas, and the duke of Athenes, constable of Fraunce, the bysshoppe of Chalons in Champayne, the lorde Wyllyam of Neell, the lorde Eustace of Rybamont, the lorde de la Towre, the lorde Wyllyam of Montagu, sir Guyuenton[1] of Chambley, sir Baudrin de la house, and many other, as they fought by companyes: and ther were taken prisoners the lorde of Wodney, the lorde of Pompador, and the archpreest, sore hurte, the erle of Vandos,[2] the erle of Mons, the erle of Genvyll, the erle of Vandone, sir Loyes of Melwall, the lorde Pyers Buffyer, and the lorde of Senerache;[3] ther were at that brunt slayne and taken mo than two hundred knyghtes.

[1] *Grismouton.*

[2] *Vaudemont.*

[3] *Serignac.*

CAP. CLXIII

Of two Frenchmen that fledde fro the batayle of Poicters, and two Englysshmen that folowed them.

AMONG the batayls, recounterynges, chases and pursuetes that were made that day in the felde, it fortuned so to sir Edwarde of Roucy,[4] that whan he departed fro the felde bycause he sawe the feld was lost without recovery, he thought nat to abyde the danger of the Englysshmen: wherfore he fledde all alone and was gone out of the felde a leage, and an Englysshe knyght pursued hym and ever cryed to hym, and sayde, Retourne agayne sir knyght, it is a shame to flye away thus. Than the knight tourned, and thenglysshe knight thought to have striken hym with his speare in the targe, but he fayled, for sir Edwarde swarved asyde fro the stroke; but he fayled nat the Englysshe knyght, for he strake hym suche a stroke on the helme with his swerde, that he was astonyed and fell fro his horse to the yerth and lay styll; than sir Edward alighted and came to him or he coude ryse, and sayd, Yeld you, rescue or no rescue, or els I shall slee you; the Englysshman yelded and went with hym, and afterwarde was raunsomed. Also it fortuned, that another squyer of Picardy, called Johan de Helenes, was fledde fro the batayle, and mette with his page, who delyverd hym a newe fresshe

[4] *Renty.*

horse, wheron he rode away alone. The same season there was in the felde the lorde Bercle of Englande, a yong lusty knyght, who the same day had reryd his baner: and he all alone pursued the sayd Johan of Helenes, and whane he had folowed the space of a leage, the sayde John tourned agayne and layed his swerde in the rest instede of a speare, and so came ronyng towarde the lorde Bercle, who lyft up his swerde to have stryken the squyer: but whan he sawe the stroke come, he tourned fro it, so that the Englysshman lost his stroke and Johan strake hym as he past on the arme, that the lorde Berclees swerde fell into the felde. Whan he sawe his swerde downe, he lyghted sodaynly of his horse and came to the place wher his swerd lay, and as he stouped downe to take up his swerd, the Frenche squyer dyd pycke his swerde at hym, and by happe strake hym through both the thyes, so that the knyght fell to the yerth, and coude nat helpe hymselfe. And Johan alyghted of his horse and toke the knyghtes swerde that lay on the grounde, and came to hym and demaunded if he wolde yelde hym or nat. The knyght than demaunded his name: Sir, sayde he, I hyght Johan of Helenes, but what is your name: Certenly, sayde the knyght, my name is Thomas, and am lorde of Bercle, a fayre castell on the ryver of Severn in the marches of Wales. Well sir, quoth the squyer, than ye shall be my prisonere, and I shall bring you in savegarde and I shall se that you shall be healed of your hurt. Well sayde the knyght, I am content to be your prisoner, for ye have by lawe of armes wonne me. Ther he swar to be his prisoner, rescue or no rescue. Than the squyer drewe forthe the swerde out of the knightes thyes and the wounde was opyn; thane he wrapped and bounde the wounde and sette hym on his horse and so brought hym fayre and easely to Chaterelant, and there taryed more than fyftene dayes for his sake, and dyde gette hym remedy for his hurt: and whan he was somwhat amended, than he gate hym a lytter and so brought hym at his ease to his house in Picardy. There he was more than a yere tyll he was perfetly hole; and whan he departed he payed for his raunsome sixe thousande nobuls, and so this squyer was made a knyght by reason of the profette that he had of the lorde Bercley.

CAP. CLXIII

Of two Frenchmen that fledde fro the batayle of Poicters, and two Englysshmen that folowed them.

CAP. CLXIIII

Howe kyng John was taken prisoner at the batayle of Poycters.

OFTEN tymes the adventures of amours and of war are more fortunate and marvelous than any man canne thynke or wysshe; truly this batayle, the which was nere to Poycters in the feldes of Beaumont[1] and Malpertuis, was right great and peryllous, and many dedes of armes there was done the which all came nat to knowlege. The fyghters on bothe parties endured moche payne; kyng John with his owne handes dyd that day marvels in armes; he had an axe in his handes wherwith he defended hymselfe and fought in the brekynge of the prease. Nere to the kyng there was taken the erle of Tankervyll, sir Jaques of Burbon, erle of Ponthieu, and the lorde Johan of Arthoyes, erle of Ewe; and a lytell above that under the baner of the captall of Buz was taken sir Charles of Arthoys and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers. The chase endured to the gates of Poiters: ther were many slayne and beaten downe, horse and man, for they of Poyters closed their gates and wolde suffre none to entre; wherfore in the strete before the gate was horrible murdre, men hurt and beaten downe. The Frenchemen yelded themselfe as farre of as they might know an Englysshman; ther were dyvers Englysshe archers that had iiii. v. or vi. prisoners: the lorde of Pons, a gret baron of Poitou, was ther slayne, and many other knyghtes and squyers: and ther was taken therle of Rochuart, the lorde of Dannauement, the lorde of Pertney; and of Xaynton, the lorde of Montendre, and the lorde John of Sayntre, but he was so sore hurt that he had never helth after; he was reputed for one of the best knightes in France. And ther was left for deed among other deed men, the lorde Rychard Dangle, who fought that day by the kyng right valyantly, and so dyd the lorde of Charny, on whom was great prease, bycause he bare the soverayne baner of the kynges: his owne baner was also in the felde, the which was of goules, thre schochyns sylver. So many Englysshmen

[1] *Beauvoir.*

CAP. CLXIIII

Howe kyng John was taken prisoner at the batayle of Poycters.

and Gascons came to that part, that perforce they opyned the kynges batell, so that the Frenchmen were so mengled amonge their ennemyes that somtyme there was fyve men upon one gentylman. Ther was taken the lord of Pompadour, and the lorde Bartylmewe de Brunes, and ther was slayne sir Geffray of Charny with the kynges baner in his handes; also the lorde Reynold Cobham slewe therle of Dammartyn: than ther was a great prease to take the kynge, and such as knewe hym cryed Sir, yelde you, or els ye ar but deed. Ther was a knyght of saynt Omers, retayned in wages with the kyng of England, called sir Denyce Morbecke, who had served the Englysshmen v. yere before, bycause in his youth he had forfayted the realme of France, for a murdre that he dyd at saynt Omers. It happenyd so well for hym, that he was next to the kynge whan they were about to take hym; he stepte forthe into the prease, and by strength of his body and armes, he came to the Frenche kyng, and sayd in gode Frenche, Sir, yelde you. The kyng behelde the knyght and sayde, To whom shall I yelde me; where is my cosyn the prince of Wales, yf I myght se hym, I wolde speke with hym. Denyce answered and sayd, Sir, he is nat here, but yelde you to me and I shall bringe you to hym. Who be you, quoth the kynge. Sir, quoth he, I am Denyce of Morbecke, a knyght of Arthoys, but I serve the kyng of Englande bycause I am banysshed the realme of Fraunce and I have forfaytedde all that I had there. Than the kynge gave hym his ryght gauntlet, sayeng, I yelde me to you. There was a great prease about the kynge, for every man enforsed hym to say, I have taken him, so that the kyng coude nat go forwarde with his yonge sonne the lorde Philyppe with hym bycause of the prease. The prince of Wales, who was coragious and cruell as a lyon, toke that day great pleasure to fight and to chase his ennemyes. The lorde John Chandos, who was with hym, of all that day never left hym nor never toke hede of takynge of any prisoner: than at the ende of the batayle, he sayde to the prince Sir, it were good that you rested her and sette your baner a high in this busshe, that your people may drawe hyther, for they be sore spredde abrode, nor I can se

CAP. CLXIIII

Howe kyng John was taken prisoner at the batayle of Poycters.

no mo baners nor penons of the Frenche partie: wherfore sir, rest and refresshe you, for ye be sore chafed. Than the princes baner was sette uppe a hygh on a busshe, and trumpettes and clarions began to sowne. Than the prince dyd of his basenet, and the knyghtes for his body and they of his chambre were redy aboute hym, and a reed pavilyon pyght uppe, and than drinke was brought forthe to the prince and for suche lordes as were aboute hym, the whiche styll encreased as they came fro the chase: ther they taryed and their prisoners with theym. And whan the two marshalles were come to the prince, he demaunded of them if they knewe any tidynges of the Frenche kyng. They answered and sayde, Sir, we here none of certenty, but we thinke verily he is other deed or taken, for he is nat gone out of the batels. Than the prince sayd to therle of Warwyke and to sir Reynolde Cobham, Sirs, I requyre you goo forthe and se what ye can knowe, that at your retourne ye may shewe me the trouth. These two lordes toke their horses and departed fro the prince, and rode up a lytell hyll to loke about them; than they parceyved a flocke of men of armes commynge togyder right werely; there was the Frenche kyng afote in great parell, for Englysshmen and Gascoyns were his maisters, they had taken hym fro sir Denyce Morbecke perforce; and suche as were moost of force sayd, I have taken hym; Nay, quoth another, I have taken hym: so they strave which shulde have him. Than the French kyng, to eschue that peryll, sayd, Sirs, stryve nat, lede me courtesly, and my sonne, to my cosyn the prince, and stryve nat for my takynge, for I am so great a lorde to make you all riche. The kynges wordes somwhat apeased them; howebeit ever as they went they made ryot and brauled for the takyng of the kyng. Whan the two foresayd lordes sawe and herde that noyse and stryfe among them, they came to them and sayd, Sirs, what is the mater that ye stryve for. Sirs, sayd one of them, it is for the Frenche kyng, who is here taken prisoner, and there be mo than x. knyghtes and squyers that chalengeth the takynge of hym and of his sonne. Thane the two lordes entred into the prease and caused every man to drawe abacke, and commaunded them in the princes name on peyne of their heedes to make no

more noise nor to aproche the kyng no nerer, without they were commaunded: thane every man gave rowme to the lordes, and they alyghted and dyd their reverence to the kyng, and so brought hym and his son in peace and rest to the prince of Wales. CAP. CLXIIII Kyng John taken prisoner.

CAP. CLXV

Of the gyft that the prince gave to the lorde Audeley after the batell of Poycters.

ASSONE as therle of Warwyke and the lorde Cobham were departed fro the prince, as ye have herde before, than the prince demaunded of the knyghtes that were aboute hym for the lorde Audeley, yf any knewe any thyng of hym. Some knyghtes that were ther answerd and sayd, Sir, he is sore hurt and lyeth in a lytter her besyde. By my faith, sayde the prince, of his hurtes I am right sorie: go and knowe yf he may be brought hyder, or els I woll go and se hym there as he is. Thane two knyghtes came to the lorde Awdeley, and sayde, Sir, the prince desyreth greatly to se you, outher ye must go to hym or els he woll come to you. A sir, sayde the knyght, thanke the prince, whan he thynketh on so poore a knyght as I am. Than he called eyght of his servantes and caused theym to bere hym in his lytter to the place wereas the prince was: than the prince tooke hym in his armes, and kyst hym, and made hym great chere, and sayd, Sir James, I ought gretly to honour you, for by your valyaunce ye have this day achyved the grace and renome of us all, and ye ar reputed for the moost valyant of all other. A sir, sayde the knyght, ye say as it pleaseth you: I wolde it were so, and if I have this day any thynge avaunced myselfe to serve you and to acomplysshe the vowe that I made, it ought nat to be reputed to me any prowes. Sir James, sayde the prince, I and all ours take you in this journey for the best doar in armes; and to thyntent to furnysshe you the better to pursue the warres, I retayne you for ever to be my knight, with fyve hundred markes of yerely revenewes, the which I shall assigne you on myne herytage in Englande. Sir, sayde the

CAP. CLXV
Of the gyft that the prince gave to the lorde Audeley after the batell of Poycters.

knyght, God graunt me to deserve the great goodnesse that ye shewe me; and so he toke his leave of the prince, for he was right feble, and so his servauntes brought hym to his lodgyng. And assone as he was gone, the erle of Warwyke and the lorde Combham retourned to the prince and presented to hym the Frenche kyng: the prince made lowly reverence to the kynge and caused wyne and spyces to be brought forthe, and hymselfe served the kynge in signe of great love.

CAP. CLXVI

Howe the Englysshmen wan gretly at the batayle of Poycters.

THUS this batayle was dysconfyted, as ye have herd, the which was in the feldes of Malpertuesse, a two leages fro Poyters, the xxii. day of Septembre the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.lvii. It began in the mornyng and endyd at noon, but as than all the Englysshmen wer nat retourned fro the chase, therfore the princes baner stode on a busshe to drawe all his men togyder, but it was ny night or all came fro the chase. And as it was reported, there was slayne all the floure of Fraunce, and there was taken with the kyng and the lorde Philyppe his sonne a sevyntene erles, besyde barones, knyghtes and squyers, and slayne a fyve or sixe thousande of one and other. Whan every man was come fro the chase, they had twyse as many prisoners as they were in nombre in all; than it was counsayled among them bycause of the great charge and dout to kepe so many, that they shulde put many of them to raunsome incontynent in the felde, and so they dyd; and the prisoners founde the Englysshemen and Gascoyns right courtesse; ther were many that day putte to raunsome and lette go, all onely on their promyse of faythe and trauth to retourne agayne bytwene that and Christmas to Burdeux with their raunsomes. Than that nyght they lay in the felde besyde where as the batayle had been; some unarmed theym, but nat all, and unarmed all their prisoners, and every man made good chere to his prisoner: for that day who soever toke any prisoner, he was clere his, and myght

quyte or raunsome hym at his pleasure. All suche as were there with the prince were all made ryche with honour and goodes, as well by ransomyng of prisoners as by wynnynge of golde, sylver, plate, jewelles, that was there founde; there was no man that dyd set any thyng by riche harnesse, wherof there was great plentie, for the Frenchmen came thyder richely besene, wenynge to have had the journey for them.

CAP. CLXVI Howe the Englysshmen wan gretly at the batayle of Poycters.

CAP. CLXVII

Howe the lorde James Audley gave to his foure squyers the v. C. markes of revenewes that the prince had gyven hym.

WHAN sir James Awdeley was brought to his logynge, than he send for sir Peter Audeley his brother and for the lorde Bartylmewe of Brunes, the lorde Stephane of Gousenton, the lorde of Wylly, and the lorde Raffe Ferres: all these were of his lynage; and than he called before them his foure squiers, that had served hym that day well and trewly. Than he sayd to the sayd lordes, Sirs, it hath pleased my lorde the prince to gyve me fyve hundred markes of revenewes by yere in herytage, for the whiche I have done hym but small servyce with my body; sirs, beholde here these foure squyers, who hath alwayes served me truely, and specially this day; that honour that I have is by their valyantnesse. Wherfore I woll rewarde them: I gyve and resigne into their handes the gyft that my lorde the prince hath gyven me of fyve hundred markes of yerely revenewes, to them and to their heyres for ever, in lyke maner as it was gyven me; I clerely disheryte me therof and inheryte them without any rebell or condycion. The lordes and other that were ther, every man beheld other and sayde among themselfe, It commeth of a great noblenes to gyve this gyft. They answered hym with one voyce, Sir, be it as Godde wyll, we shall bere wytnesse in this behalfe wher soever we be come. Thane they departed fro hym, and some of them went to the

CAP. CLXVII

Lorde James Audley's gift.

prince, who the same nyght wolde make a supper to the Frenche kynge and to the other prisoners, for they had than ynough to do withall of that the Frenchemen brought with them, for the Englysshmen wanted vitayle before, for some in thre dayes hadde no bredde before.

CAP. CLXVIII

Howe the prince made a supper to the French kyng the same day of the batayle.

THE same day of the batayle at night the prince made a supper in his lodgynge to the Frenche kyng and to the moost parte of the great lordes that were prisoners. The prince made the kynge and his son, the lorde James of Burbone, the lorde John Darthoys, the erle of Tankervyll, therle of Stampes, therle Dampmartyne, the erle of Gravyll,[1] and the lorde of Pertenay to syt all at one borde, and other lordes, knyghtes and squiers at other tables; and alwayes the prince served before the king as humbly as he coude, and wolde nat syt at the kynges borde for any desyre that the kynge coulde make: but he sayd he was nat suffycient to syt at the table with so great a prince as the kyng was. But than he sayd to the kyng, Sir, for Goddessake make non yvell nor hevy chere, though God this day dyde nat consent to folowe your wyll: for sir, surely the kynge my father shall bere you as moche honour and amyte as he may do, and shall acorde with you so reasonably that ye shall ever be frendes toguyder after; and sir, methynke ye ought to rejoyse, though the journey be nat as ye wolde have had it, for this day ye have wonne the hygh renome of prowes and have past this day in valyantnesse all other of your partie: sir, I say natte this to mocke you, for all that be on our partie that sawe every mannes dedes, ar playnly acorded by true sentence to gyve you the price and chapelette.

[1] *Joinville.*

Therwith the Frenchemen began to murmure and sayde among themselfe howe the prince had spoken nobly, and that by all estimacion he shulde prove a noble man, if God sende hym lyfe, and to perceyver in suche good fortune.

CAP. CLXIX

Howe the prince retourned to Burdeux after the batayle of Poycters.

WHAN supper was done, every man wente to his lodgyng with their prisoners; the same nyght they putte many to raunsome and belyved them on their faythes and trouthes, and raunsomed them but easely, for they sayd they wolde sette no knyghtes raunsome so hygh, but that he myght pay at his ease and maynteyne styll his degree. The nexte day whan they had herde masse and taken some repast, and that every thyng was trussed and redy, than they toke their horses and rode towardes Poycters. The same nyght ther was come to Poycters the lorde of Roy with a hundred speres: he was nat at the batayle, but he mette the duke of Normandy nere to Chauvigny, and the duke sende hym to Poycters to kepe the towne tyll they herde other tidynges. Whan the lorde of Roy knewe that thenglysshmen were so nere commynge to the cytie, he caused every man to be armed, and every man to go to his defence to the walles, towres, and gates; and thenglysshmen paste by without any aprochynge, for they were so laded with golde, sylver and prisoners, that in their retournynge they assauted no fortes: they thought it a gret dede if they might bringe the Frenche kynge, with their other prisoners and ryches that they had won, in savegard to Burdeaux. They rode but small journeys bycause of their prisoners and great caryages that they had; they rode in a day no more but four or fyve leages and loged ever betymes, and rode close togyder in good aray, savyng the marshalles batayls, who rode ever before with fyve C. men of armes to opyn the passages as the prince shulde passe, but they founde no encounterers, for all the countre was so frayed that every man drue to the fortresses. As the prince rode, it was shewed hym howe the lorde Audeley had gyven to his four squyers the gyft of the fyve hundred markes that he hadde gyven unto hym. Than the prince sende for hym, and he was brought in his lytter to the prince, who receyved hym curtesly, and sayde, Sir James,

CAP. CLXIX

Howe the prince retourned to Burdeux after the batayle of Poycters.

we have knoledge that the revenewes that we gave you, assone as ye came to your lodgyng, you gave the same to foure squyers: we wolde knowe why ye dyd so, and whyder the gyft was agreable to you or nat. Sir, sayd the knyght, it is of trouth I have gyven it to them, and I shall shewe you why I dyde so. These foure squyers that be here present have a longe season served me well and truely in many great besynesses; and sir, at this last batayle they served me in suche wyse that and they had never done nothynge els, I was bounde to rewarde theym, and before the same day they had never nothing of me in rewarde; sir, I am but a man alone: but by the ayde and confort of them I toke on me to acomplysshe my vowe long before made: I had ben deed in the batayle and they had nat ben, wherfore sir, whan I consydred the love that they bare unto me, I had nat ben curtesse if I wolde nat a rewarded them; I thanke God I have had and shall have ynough as long as I lyve, I wyll never be abasshed for lacke of good; sir, if I have done this without your pleasure, I requyre you to pardon me, for sir, both I and my squyers shall serve you as well as ever we dyd. Than the prince sayd, Sir James, for any thing that ye have done I can nat blame you, but can you gode thanke therfore, and for the valyantnes of these squyers whom ye preyse so moche, I acorde to them your gyft, and I woll render agayne to you vi. C. markes in lyke maner as ye had the other. Thus the prince and his company dyd so moche that they past through Poyctou and Xaynton without damage and came to Blay, and there passed the ryver of Geron and aryved in the good cytie of Burdeux. It canne nat be recorded the gret feest and chere that they of the cytie with the clergy made to the prince, and howe honourably they were ther receyved. The prince brought the French kyng into the abbey of saynt Andrewes, and there they lodged bothe, the kyng in one part and the prince in the other. The prince bought of the lordes, knyghtes, and squyers of Gascone, the moost parte of the erles of the realme of Fraunce, suche as wer prisoners, and payed redy money for them. Ther was dyvers questyons and chalenges made bytwene the knyghtes and squyers of Gascoyne for takyng of the Frenche kyng; howebeit Denyce Morbecke by ryght

of armes, and by true tokens that he shewed, chalenged hym for his prisoner. Another squyer of Gascon called Bernarde of Troutes sayde howe he had ryght to hym; there was moche ado and many wordes before the prince and other lordes that were there: and bycause these two chalenged eche other to fight in that quarell, the prince caused the mater to rest tyll they came in Englande, and that no declaracyon shulde be made but afore the kynge of Englande his father; but bycause the Frenche kyng hymselfe ayded to sustayne the chaleng of Denyce Morbecke, for he enclyned more to hym than to any other, the prince therfore prively caused to be delyverd to the sayd sir Denyce ii. M. nobuls to mayntene with all his estate. Anone, after the prince came to Burdeux, the cardynall of Piergort came thyder, who was send fro the pope in legacyon, as it was sayd: he was there more thane xv. dayes or the prince wolde speke with hym bycause of the chatelayne of Campost[1] and his men, who were agaynst hym in the batayle of Poicters. The prince belyved that the cardynall send them thyder, but the cardynall dyd so moch by the meanes of the lorde of Chamont, the lorde of Monferant, and the captall of Buz, who were his cosyns, they shewed so good reasons to the prince, that he was content to here him speke. And whan he was before the prince, he excused hymselfe so sagely that the prince and his counsayle helde him excused, and so he fell agayne into the princes love and redemed out his men by resonable raunsoms; and the cathelayne was sette to his ransome of x. M. frankes, the which he payed after: than the cardynall began to treat on the delyverance of the Frenche kyng, but I passe it brefely bycause nothyng was done. Thus the prince, the Gascons and Englysshmen taryed styll at Burdeux tyll it was Lent in great myrth and revell, and spende folysshely the golde and sylver that they had won. In Englande also there was great joye whane they harde tidynges of the batayle of Poycters, of the dysconfityng of the Frenchmen, and takyng of the kyng; great solemnytes were made in all churches and great fyers and wakes throughout all Englande: the knyghtes and squyers, suche as were come home fro that journey, were moche made of and praysed more than other.

CAP. CLXIX

Howe the prince retourned to Burdeux after the batayle of Poycters.

[1] *Amposta.*

CAP. CLXX

Howe the thre estates of France assembled togyder at Parys after the batayle of Poycters.

THE same seson that the batayle of Poicters was, the duke of Lancastre was in the countie of Evreux, and on the marches of Constantyne, and with hym the lorde Philyppe of Naver, and the lorde Godfray of Harcort. They made warr in Normandy and had done all that season in the tytell of the kyng of Naver, whom the French kyng helde in prison; these lordes dyd all that they might to have ben at the journey of Poyters with the prince, but they coude nat, for all the passages on the ryver of Loyre were so well kept that they myght nat passe; but whan they herd howe the prince had taken the French kyng at the batayle of Poiters, they were gladde and brake up their journey, bycause the duke of Lancastre and sir Phylyppe of Naver wolde go into Englande: and so they dyd; and they sende sir Godfray of Harcort to saynt Savyours le Vycont to kepe ther fronter warre.

Nowe let us speke of the Frenche kynges thre sonnes, Charles, Loys, and John, who were returned fro the besynes at Poyters; they were right yong of age and of counsell; in them was but small recovery, nor ther was none of them that wolde take on hym the governance of the realme of France: also the lordes, knyghtes and squyers, such as fledde fro the batayle, were so hated and blamed of the commons of the realme, that scant they durst abyde in any good towne. Than all the prelates of holy church beyng in France, bysshoppes, abbottes, and all other noble lordes and knyghtes, and the provost of the marchantes, the burgesses of Paris, and the counsels of other gode townes, they all assembled at Parys: and there they wolde ordayne howe the realme shulde be governed tyll the kynge were delyvered out of prison. Also they wold knowe fardermore what was become of the great treasure that had ben levyed in the realme by deames, maltotes, subsidyes, forgyng of moneys, and in all other extorcyons, wherby the people hath ben

overlayd and troubled, and the soudyours yvell payed, and the realme yvell kept and defendedde; but of all this there were none that coulde gyve accompt. Than they agreed that the prelates shuld chose out twelfe persones amonge theym, who shulde have power by theym and by all the clergy to ordayne and to advyse all thynges covenable to be done; and the lordes and knyghtes to chuse other twelfe among them of their most sagest and dyscrete persones, to determyne all causes; and the burgesses to chose other twelfe for the commons; the whiche sixe and thyrtie persons shulde oftentymes mete at Parys and ther to common and to ordayne for all causes of the realme, and every matter to be brought to theym; and to these thre estates all other prelates, lordes and commons shulde obey. So these persones were chosen out, but in the begynninge there were dyverse in this electyon that the duke of Normandy was nat content withall, nor his counsayle.

CAP. CLXX
Howe the thre estates of France assembled togyder at Parys.

Firste, these thre estates defended evermore forgynge of money; also they requyred the duke of Normandy that he wolde arest the chaunceler of the kynge his father, the lorde Robert of Lorreys, and the lorde Robert[1] of Bucy, and dyvers other maisters of the countes, and other counsaylours of the kynges, to the entent that they might make a trewe acount of that they had taken and levyed in the realme and by their counsaylles. Whan these maisters and counsaylours herde of this mater, they departed out of the realme into other countreis, to abyde there tyll they herde other tidynges.

[1] *Simon.*

CAP. CLXXI

Howe the thre estates sende men of warre agaynst the lorde Godfray of Harecourt.

THESE thre estates ordayned and stablysshed in their names, receyvers of all male totes, deames, subsidyes and other rightes pertayning to the kyng and to the realme: and they made newe money to be forged of fyne golde, called moutons; also they wolde gladly that the kynge of Naver had ben delyverd out of prison, whereas he was at

CAP. CLXXI

Howe the thre estates sende men of warre agaynst the lorde Godfray of Harecourt.

the castell of Crevecure, in Cambresis. It was thought by dyvers of the thre estates, that the realme of Fraunce shulde be the more stronger and the better defended if he wolde be true to the realme: for they sawe well there were thane but fewe nobles to maynteyne the realme for they were nyghe all takene and slayne at the batayle of Poycters. Thane they requyred the duke of Normandy to delyver hym out of prisonne, for they sayd howe they thought he had great wronge to be kepte in prisone for they wyst nat why. The duke answered, and sayde, howe he durst nat take on hym his delyveraunce for the kyng his father putte hym in prisone he coude nat tell for what cause. The same season there came tidynges to the duke and to the thre estates, that the lorde Godfray of Harecourt made sore warr in Normandy, and overranne the countre two or thre tymes in a weke, somtyme to the subbarbes of Cane, of saynt Lowe, Evreux, and Constances. Than the duke and the thre estates ordayned a company of men of armes, of thre hundred speares and fyve hundredde of other, and made four capitayns, the lorde of Ravenall, the lorde of Kenny, the lorde of Ryvell, and the lorde of Frianvyll.[1] These men of warre departed fro Parys and went to Rowan, and there they assembled on all partes; there were dyvers knyghtes of Arthoys and of Vermandoys, as the lorde of Kenekey,[2] the lorde Loyes of Hanefkell,[3] the lorde Edward of Rousy, the lorde John Fenes, the lorde Ingram of Hedyn and dyvers other: and also of Normandy ther were many expert men of armes; and these lordes rode to Constances and there made their garyson.

1 *Freville.*

2 *Créquy.*

3 *Haveskerke.*

CAP. CLXXII

Of the batayle of Constances bytwene the lorde Godfray of Harcourt and the lorde Loyes of Ravenall.

WHAN the lord Godfray of Harcourt, who was a right hardy knyght and a couragious, knewe that the Frenchemen were come to the cyte of Constances he assembled togyder as many men of warr as

CAP. CLXXII

Of the batayle of Constances.

he coude gett, archers and other, and sayd, howe he wolde ryde and loke on the Frenchmen, and so departed fro saynt Savyour le Vycont; he had about a sevyn hundred men one and other. The same day the Frenchmen also rode forth and sende before them their currours, who brought them worde agayne that they had sene the Naveroyse; also sir Godfray had sende his currours, who had also well aviewed the Frenchmen and sawe their baners and penons and what nombre they were, and retourned and shewed it to sir Godfray, who sayd, Syth we se our enemyes we woll fight with theym; than he sette his archers before and sette his company in good order. And whan sir Loys of Ravenall sawe their demeanour, he caused his company to alyght afote and to paves them with their targes agaynst the archers, and commaunded that none shulde go forwarde without he commaunded. The archers began to aproch and shote feersly: the Frenchmen who were well armed and pavysshed suffred their shotte, it dyd theym no great hurt: so the Frenchemen stode styll tyll the archers had spent all their arowes; than they cast away their bowes and resorted backe to their men of armes who were aranged alonge by a hedge and sir Godfray with his baner before them. Than the Frenche archers began to shote and gathered up the arrowes that had ben shot at them before, and also their men of armes began feersly to aproche; there was a sore fyght whan they mette hande to hande, and sir Godfrayes fotemen kept none aray but were soone disconfyted. Than sir Godfray sagely withdrue hymselfe downe into a wyng closed with hedges: whan the Frenchmen sawe that, they all alyghted afote and devysed which way they might entre; they went all about to fynde a way and sir Godfray was redy ever to defende; ther were many hurt and slayne of the Frenchmen or they coulde entre at their pleasure; finally they entred and than there was a sore fyght and many a man overthrowen: and sir Godfrayes men kepte no good aray nor dyd nat as they had promysed; moost part of theym fledde. Whan sir Godfray sawe that, he sayd to himself howe he had rather there be slayne than to be taken by the Frenchmen: than he toke his axe in his handes and set fast the one legge before thother to stande

CAP. CLXXII
Of the batayle of Constances.

the more surely, for his one legge was a lytell croked, but he was strong in the armes; ther he fought valyantly and long, non durst well abyde his strokes: than two Frenchmen mounted on their horses and ranne bothe with their speares at ones at hym, and so bare hym to the yerth; than other that were afote, came with their swerdes and strake hym into the body under his harneys so that ther he was slayne; and all suche as were with hym were nygh all slayne and taken, and such as scaped retourned to saynt Savyour the Vycount. This was about the feest of saynt Martyne, in wynter, the yere of our lorde M.CCC.lvi.

CAP. CLXXIII

Howe the prince conveyed the Frenche kyng fro Burdeux into Englande.

AFTER the deth of this knight, sir Godfray of Harcourt, the Frenchmen retourned to Constances with their prisoners and pyllage, and anone after they went into France to the duke of Normandy, who as than was called regent of France, and to the thre estates, who receyved them right honourably. So fro thensforth saynt Savyour le Vycont was Englysshe and all the landes[1] pertayning to sir Godfray of Harcourt, for he had solde it to the kyng of England after his dyscease and disheryted the lorde Loys of Harcort his nephue, bycause he wolde nat take his part. Assone as the kyng of Englande herde tidynges of the dethe of the lorde Godfray of Harcort, he was sorie therof; than he sent incontynent men of armes, knyghtes, squyers and archers, mo than CCC. by see to go and take possessyon for hym of saynt Savyour le Vycont, the which was worth xxx. M. frankes by yere, and made captayne of those landes the lorde Johan Lyle. The thre estates all that season studyed on the ordinance of the realme of France, and it was all governed by them. The same wynter the prince of Wales and suche of Englande as were with hym at Burdeux ordayned for shyppes, to convey the Frenche kyng and his sonne and all other prisoners into Englande; and whan the tyme of his departure aproched, than he commaunded

[1] *lordes* P.

CAP. CLXXIII

the lorde Dalbert, the lorde of Musydent, the lorde de Laspare, the lorde of Punyers, and the lorde of Rosen to kepe the contre there, tyll his retourne agayne. Than he toke the see, and certayne lordes of Gascoyne with hym; the Frenche kyng was in a vessell by hymself, to be the more at his ease, acompanyed with two hundred men of armes and two thousand archers: for it was shewed the prince that the thre estates by whom the realme of France was governed had layed in Normandy and Crotoy two great armyes, to the entent to mete with hym and to gette the Frenche kynge out of his handes, if they might; but ther were no suche that apered, and yet thei were on the see xi. dayes, and on the xii. day they aryved at Sandwych. Than they yssued out of their shyppe and lay there all that night, and taryed there two dayes to refresshe them; and on the thirde day they rode to Canterbury. Whan the kynge of Englande knewe of their commynge, he commaunded them of London to prepare theym and their cyte to receyve suche a man as the Frenche kyng was. Than they of London arrayed themselfe by companyes and the chiefe maisters clothyng dyfferent fro the other; at saynt Thomas of Caunterbury the Frenche kyng and the prince made their offerynges and there taryed a day, and than rode to Rochester and taryed there that day, and the nexte day to Dartforde and the fourth day to London, wher they were honourably receyved, and so they were in every good towne as they passed. The Frenche kynge rode through London on a whyte courser, well aparelled, and the prince on a lytell blacke hobbey by hym: thus he was conveyed along the cyte tyll he came to the Savoy, the which house pertayned to the herytage of the duke of Lancastre; there the French kyng kept his house a long season, and thyder came to se hym the kyng and the quene often tymes and made hym gret feest and chere. Anone after by the commaundement of pope Innocent the sixt there came into Englande the lorde Taylleran, cardynall of Pyergort, and the lorde Nycholas, cardynall of Dargell; they treated for a peace bytwene the two kynges, but they coude bring nothyng to effect, but at last by good meanes they procured a truse bytwene the two kynges and

Howe the prince conveyed the Frenche kyng into Englande.

CAP. CLXXIII

Howe the prince conveyed the Frenche kyng into Englande.

all their assysters, to endure tyll the feest of saynt Johan the Baptyst in the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC.lix. and out of this truse was excepted the lorde Philyppe of Naverr and his alyes, the countesse of Mountfort and the duchy of Bretayne. Anone after, the French kyng was removed fro the Savoy to the castell of Wyndsore, and all his householde, and went a huntyng and a haukyng ther about at his pleasur, and the lorde Philypp his son with hym: and all the other prisoners abode styll at London, and went to se the kyng at their pleasure, and were receyved all onely on their faythes.

CAP. CLXXIIII

Howe the kyng of Scottes was delyvered out of prison.

YE have herde here before, howe kyng Davyd of Scotlande was taken and was prisoner in Englande more than ix. yere; and anone after the truse was concluded bytwene Englande and Fraunce, the two foresayd cardynals with the bysshoppe of saynt Andrewes in Scotlande fell in treaty for the delyverance of the kyng of Scottes. The treaty was in suche maner that the kyng of Scotes shulde never after arme hymselfe agaynst the kyng of Englande in his realme, nor counsayle nor consent to any of his subgetes to arme them, nor to greve nor make warre agaynst England: and also the kyng of Scottes after his retourne into his realme shulde put to all his payne and diligence that his men shulde agre that the realme of Scotland shuld holde in fee, and do homage to the kyng of England; and if the realme wolde nat agree thereto, yet the kynge of Scottes to swere solemply to kepe good peace with the kyng of Englande and to bynde hymselfe and his realme to pay within x. yere after, fyve hundred thousande nobuls; and at the somonyng of the kyng of England to sende gode pleges and hostages, as the erle of Duglas, therle of Morette, the erle of Mare, the erle of Surlant, the erle of Fye, the baron of Versey, and sir Wyllyam of Caumoyse, and all these to abyde in Englande as prisoners and hostagers for the kyng their lorde unto the tyme that the sayd

payment of money be full content and payed. Of this ordynaunce and bondes there were made instrumentes publykes and letters patentes sayled by bothe kynges: and than the kyng of Scottes departed and went into his realme, and his wyfe quene Isabell, suster to the kynge of Englande with hym; and he was honourably receyved in his realme, and he went and lay at saynt Johns towne, on the ryver of Tay tyll his castell of Edenborough was newe prepared.

CAP. CLXXIIII

Howe the kyng of Scottes was delyvered out of prison.

CAP. CLXXV

Howe the duke of Lancastre layed siege to Reynes.

ABOUTE the myddes of May in the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC.lvii. the duke of Lancastre made in Breten a great army of Englysshmen and of Bretons in the ayde of the countesse of Montfort and of her yonge sonne: they were in nombre a thousande men of armes well aparelled, and v. hundred of other with archers. And they departed on a day fro Hanybont, and went forthe brennyng and exilyng the contrey of Bretayne, and so came before the good cyte of Reynes and layed siege therto and made many assautes and lytell good dyde: for within was the Vycount of Rowan, the lorde de la Wall,[1] sir Charles of Dignen,[2] and dyvers other; and also there was a yong bachelar called Bertrande of Glesquyne, who duryng the siege fought with an Englysshman called sir Nycholas Dagorne;[3] and that batayle was takene thre courses with a speare, thre strokes with an axe, and thre with a dagger: and eche of these knyghtes bare themselfe so valyantly that they departed fro the felde without any damage, and they were well regarded bothe of theym within and they without. The same season the lorde Charles de Bloyes was in the countrey and pursewed sore the regent of Fraunce desyring hym to sende men of warr to reyse the siege at Reynes, but the regent had suche busynes with the maters of the realme that he dydde nothynge in that cause: so the siege lay styll before Reynes.

[1] *Delawar.*
[2] *Dinan.*
[3] *Dagworth.*

CAP. CLXXVI

How a knyght of the county of Evreuse called sir Wyllyam of Granvyll wan the cytie and castell of Evreux the which as than was French, for the Frenche kyng had won it fro the Naveroys as ye have herde before.

A KNIGHT named the lorde of Granvyll pertayning to the kyng of Naver, bothe by fayth and othe, gretly it displeased hym the prisonment[1] of the kyng of Naverre, and also it was right dysplesant to some of the burgesses of Evreux, but they coude nat amende it bycause the castell was their enemy: this lorde dwelt a two leages fro the cyte, and often tymes he resorted to the cite to a burges house that in tyme before ever loved well the kyng of Naver. Whan this lorde came to this burgesse house he wolde eate and drinke with hym, and speke and commen of many maters and specially of the kyng of Naver, and of his takyng, wherwith they wer nothing content: and on a tyme this lorde sayd to the burges, If ye woll agre with me I shal on a day wyn agayne this cyte, bourge and castell to the behofe of the kyng of Naver. Howe may that be, sayd the burges, for the captayn of the castell is so gode a Frenchman that he woll never agre therto; and without the castell ye can do nothynge for the castell over maistreth the cytie. Well, quoth the lorde Wyllyam, I shall shewe you; first, it behoveth that ye gette of your acorde thre or foure other burgesses, and provyde redy in your houses certayne men well armed, and I shall warrant you on my peryll that ye shall entre into the castell without danger by a subtyltie that I wyll compase. This burgesse dyde so moche in a briefe tyme that he dyd gette a hundred burgesses of his opinyon: this lorde of Granvyll came in and out into the cyte at his pleasure without any suspectyon, for he was never in harnes with sir Philyp of Naverre in no journey that he made, bycause his lande lay nere to the cytie of Evreux. And also the Frenche kyng whan he wan the

[1] *presentment* P.

CAP. CLXXVI

How sir Wyllyam of Granvyll wan the cytie and castell of Evreux.

cytie, he caused all the landes there aboute to be bounde to hym els he wolde have taken them to his owne use; so the Frenche kyng had the countrey but the hertes of the people were styll Naveroyse. Also if kyng John had ben in Fraunce as he was in Englande he durst not have done as he dyd: but he thought the maters of France were in sore trouble, and also perceyved howe the thre estates wer well mynded to the delyverance of the kyng of Naver: and whan he saw all his mater redy and well forward, and that the burgesses of his opynyon were well advysed what they shulde do, he armed hymselfe with secrete armour, and dyd on a sloppe above and a cloke above that, and under his arme he bare a short batell axe, and with hym went a varlet who was privy to his mynd. And so he came walkyng before the castell gate as he had often tymes done before: he walked up and downe so often that at last the capitayne came downe and opyned the wycket as he was wont to do, and stode and loked about hym; and whan sir Wyllyam sawe hym he went by lytell and lytell to hym and saluted hym courtesly: the captayne stode styll and saluted hym agayne, and whan they came nere togyder they began to speke of dyverse maters, and sir Wyllyam demaunded of hym if he had herde any newe tidynges oute of Fraunce. The capitayne who was desyrous to here newes, sayd, Sir, I here none, I pray you, if you have herde any lette me here some parte of them; With a right good wyll, quoth the lorde Wyllyam; sir, it is sayd in Fraunce that the kynge of Denmarke and the kyng of Irelande ar alyed togyder and hath sworne to go forthe togyder, and nat to retourne agayne into their countreys tyll they have distroyed all England, and have brought agayne the Frenche kynge to Parys for they ar on the see mo than a C. M. men; and the Englysshmen be in suche dout of them that they wot nat what to do, for ther is an olde sayeng among theym that the Danes shulde dystroy theym. The capitayne demaunded howe he knewe those tidynges; Sir, sayde he, a knyght of Flaunders dyd write this to me for certayne, and he sent me with the letter the goodlyest chesse men than ever I sawe; he found out that mocke bycause he knewe well that the capitayne loved well the game of the chesse. Than the

CAP. CLXXVI

How sir Wyllyam of Granvyll wan the cytie and castell of Evreux.

capitayne sayde, Sir, I pray you lette me se theym. I shall sende for them, sayd sir Wyllyam, on the condycion that you woll play a game with me for the wyne; and than he sayde to his varlette, Go thy way and fetche me the chessemen and bring them hyther to the gate. The varlet departed, and the capitayne and sir Wyllyam entred into the first gate; than the capitayne closed the wycket after them with a bolt and locked it nat; thanne sir Wyllyam sayde, Opyn the seconde gate, ye may well ynough without any danger. The captayne opyned the wycket and dyd suffre sir Wyllyam to entre to se the castell, and he entred with hym. The varlet than went streyght to the burgesses, who had men redy in harnes in their houses, and he caused them to come harde to the castell gate, and than he sowned a lytell horne, as it was devysed before that he shulde do; whane the lorde Wyllyam herde the horne, he sayde to the capytayne, Lette us go out of the seconde gate for my varlet is commynge. Than sir Wyllyam passed the wycket and stode styll without, and the capitayne that wolde a passed out after hym sette out his fote and stouped downe and put out his heed; than the lorde Wylliam toke the axe that he had under his arme and strake the captayne suche a stroke, that he clave his heed, and so fyll downe deed on the groundsyll; thane the lorde Wyllyam went to the first gate and opyned hit. Whane the watcheman of the castell herde the horne he had great marveyle, for ther was a commaundement gyven in the towne, that on payne of dethe none shulde sowne any horne; than he loked and sawe men in harnes come ronnynge towardes the castell gate; than he cryed Treason, treason. Than they within the castell came to the gate and were sore abasshed whan they sawe it opyn and the capitayne deed overthwart the gate, and the lorde Willyam with his axe in his handes to defende the entre. Than incontynent ther came suche as were apoynted to ayde the lorde Wyllyam, and entred in at the first gate and so after to the seconde gate, and drove backe the soudyers and dyvers were taken and slayne and so entred into the castell. Thus by this manere was the stronge castell of Evreux won agayne; and than incontynent the cytie yelded up and put out all the Frenchmen, and than they send for the lorde

Philyp of Naver, who was as than newely come out of Englande, and thyder he came and made ther his soverayne garyson to make war agaynst the good countrey of Normandy; and with hym was sir Robert Canoll,[1] sir James Physen, sir Fryquet of Friquant, the bascle of Marnell, the lorde Jouell, sir Fondrigas and other, who dyd after moche myschiefe in France as ye shall here herafter.

CAP. CLXXVI

How sir Wyllyam of Granvyll wan Evreux.

[1] *Knolles.*

CAP. CLXXVII

Of the companions wherof the archpreest was chiefe, and howe he was honoured in Avygnon.

IN the same season ther was a knyght called sir Arnolde Cervoll,[2] and most comonly named archpreest, he assembled togyder a great company of men of warr of dyvers contrees suche as lacked wages in other places: after the takyng of the Frenche kynge, they wyste nat where than to wynne any thyng in Fraunce: so first they went towardes Provence and toke byforce many stronge townes and castelles, and robbed all the countrey to Avygnone, and they had none other capitayne but this knight the archpreest: the pope Innocent the sixt, and the cardynalles beyng at Avygnon had of that company great dout, and kept there men day and nyght in harnesse, and made good watche. Whan this archepreest and his company had robbed all the countre, the pope and the clergy fell in treaty with them, and so on a sure apoyntment they came to Avygnone and they were as honourably receyved as thoughe there had ben a kynges sonne; and often tymes this knyght dyned with the pope and with the cardynals, and they had pardon of all their synnes, and at their departyng they had in rewarde xl. thousande crownes for hym and his company; so some of his company departed, but styll the archpresst kept his company togyder.

[2] *Canoll* P.

CAP. CLXXVIII

Of another sort of companyons wherof Ruffyn a Walsshman was capitayne.

ALSO in the same season there rose another company of men of warr of all contreys gathered togyder, and they kept bytwene the ryver of Loyr and the ryver of Sayne, wherfore none durste go nor ryde bytwene Parys and Orleaunce, nor bytwene Parys and Montargis: every man fledde to Parys and the poore men of the countre fled to Orleance. These companyons made among them a captayne, called Ruffyn; they made hym knight, and by meanes of robbery and pyllage, he was marveylous riche; some day they wolde ryde nere to Parys, another day to Orlyaunce, another tyme to Chartres; there was no towne nor fortresse, savynge suche as were stronge and well kept, but was by them robbed and overron, as saynt Arnolde, Gallardon, Broumalx, Aloes, Estampes, Chastres, Montleher, Plouvyers, Ingastynoes, Mylly, Larchant, Chastellon, Montarges, Isyeres, and dyvers other great townes that it were marveyll to reherse them; they rode in and out about in the contre by xx. by xxx. and by xl. and they founde no let. Also in Normandy by the see syde there was a gretter company of robbers, Englysshe and Naveroys, and sir Robert Canoll was chefe of them, and by suche meanes he wanne townes, castels and fortresses, without any resystence: this sir Robert Canoll had longe used lyke maner, he was well worthe a hundred thousand crownes and kepte ever with hym many soudyours at his wages; they pylled and robbed so well that many were gladde to folowe hym.

CAP. CLXXIX

Howe the provost of the marchantes of Parys slewe thre knyghtes in the regentes chambre.

IN this season that the thre estates thus ruled, there rose in dyvers countrees certayne manere of people callyng themselfe companyons, and they made warr to every man. The noble men of the realme of France and the prelates of holy Churche began to waxe wery of the rule and ordynance of the thre estates, and so gave up their rule and suffred the provost of the marchantes to medyll with some of the burgesses of Parys, bycause they medled farther thane they were pleased withall. So on a day the regent of Fraunce was in the palays of Parys with many noble men and prelates with hym: the provost than assembled a great nombre of commons of Parys, suche as were of his opynion, and all they ware hattes of one colour, to thentent to be knowen. The provost came to the palays with his men about hym and entred into the dukes chambre, and ther egerly he desyred hym that he wolde take on hym the medlyng of the busynesse of the realme of France, that the realme, the which pertayned to hym by enherytance, might be better kept, and that suche companyons as goeth about the realme wastyng, robbyng and pyllinge the same myght be subdued. The duke answered howe he wolde gladly entende therto, yf he had wherwith, and said They that receyve the profet and the rightes pertayning to the realme ought to do it; yf it be done or nat I report me. So they multiplyed suche wordes bytwene them that thre of the greattest of the dukes counsayle were ther slayne so nere hym, that his clothes were all blody with their blode and he himselfe in great peryll: but there was sette one of their hattes on his heed and he was fayne there to pardon the deth of his thre knyghtes, two of armes and the thyrd of the lawe, the one called the lorde Robert of Cleremont, a ryght noble man, another the lorde of Conflans, and the knyght of the lawe, the lorde Symonde of Bucy.

CAP. CLXXX

Howe the kyng of Naver came out of prison.

AFTER this forsayd aventure, certayne knyghtes as the lorde John of Pequigny and other, under the comfort of the provost of Parys and of other counsaylours of the good townes, came to the stronge castell of Alleres in Paylleull, in Picardy, where the kyng of Naver was in prison under the kepynge of the lorde Trystram du Boyse. They brought to theym that kept the castell suche tokens that they had the king of Naver delyverd into their handes, for the captayn was nat as than there; and they brought hym with great joye into the cytie of Amyense, where he was well receyved, and lyghted at a chanons house, who loved hym entierly, called Guy Kyrrecke; and the kyng taryed there a fyftene dayes tyll he had so provyded for hymselfe that he was assured of the duke of Normandy, than regent of France: for the provost of the marchantes of Parys hadde gette hym his peace of the duke and of them of Parys. And than the kyng of Naver was brought to Parys by the lorde John of Pequigny and by other burgesses of Amyense, wher as every man was gladde to se hym and the duke made hym great feest and chere, for it behoved hym so to do, for the provost and his sect exhorted hym therto: therfore the duke dissembled for the pleasur of the provost and other of Parys.

CAP. CLXXXI

Howe the kyng of Naverre preched solemply in Parys.

WHAN the kynge of Naver had bene a certayne tyme in Parys, on a day he assembled togyder prelates, knightes and clerkes of the unyversite, and ther he shewed openly among them in Latyn in the presence of the duke of Normandy his complaynt and

greffes, and vyolence done to hym wrongfully without right or reason, and sayde howe there was none that ought to dout in hym, but that he wolde lyve and dye in the defence of the realme of Fraunce and the crowne therof, as he was bounde to do: for he was extraught of father and mother of the right lygne of Fraunce, and sayde, if he wolde chalenge the realme and crowne of Fraunce, he coulde shewe by ryght howe he was more nerer therto than the kynge of Englande. His sermon and langage was so pleasant that he was greatly praysed, and so lytell and lytell he entred into the favour of them of Parys, so that he was better beloved there than the regent the duke of Normandy, and also with dyvers other cites in the realme of France; but whatsoever semblant the provost and they of Parys made to the kyng of Naver, for all that the lorde Philyppe of Naver wolde never trust them, nor wolde nat come to Parys, for he alwayes sayd that in a comynalte, ther was never no certentie, but finally shame, rebuke, and dyshonour.

CAP. CLXXXI

Howe the kyng of Naverre preched solemply in Parys.

CAP. CLXXXII

Of the beginnyng of the rysing of the commons called Jaquere in Beauvosyn.

ANONE after the delyveraunce of the kyng of Naver, ther began a mervelouse trybulacion in the realme of France, as in Beauvosyn, in Bry, on the ryver of Marne in Leamoys,[1] and about Seossons; for certayne people of the common vyllages, without any heed or ruler assembled togyder in Beauvosyn. In the beginnyng they past nat a hundred in nombre: they sayd howe the noble men of the realme of Fraunce, knyghtes and squyers, shamed the realme, and that it shulde be a great welth to dystroy them all, and eche of them sayd it was true, and sayd all with one voyce, Shame have he that dothe nat his power to distroy all the gentylmen of the realme. Thus they gathered togyder without any other counsayle, and without any armure, savyng with staves and knyves, and so went to the house of a knyght dwellyng therby, and brake up his house and slewe the knyght and the lady and all his chyldren, great

[1] *Laonnois.*

CAP. CLXXXII

Of the beginnyng of the rysing of the commons in Beauvosyn.

and small, and brent his house. And than they went to another castel, and toke the knight therof and bounde hym fast to a stake, and than vyolated his wyfe and his doughter before his face and than slewe the lady and his doughter and all his other chyldren, and than slewe the knyght by great tourment and brent and beate downe the castell. And so they dyd to dyvers other castelles and good houses; and they multiplyed so that they were a six thousand, and ever as they went forwarde they encreased, for suche lyke as they were fell ever to them, so that every gentylman fledde fro them and tooke their wyves and chyldren with them, and fledde x. or xx. leages of to be in suretie, and left their houses voyde and their goodes therin.

These myschevous peple thus assembled without capitayne or armoure, robbed, brent and slewe all gentylmen that they coude lay handes on, and forced and ravysshed ladyes and damosels, and dyd suche shamefull dedes that no humayne creature ought to thynke on any suche, and he that dyd moost myschiefe was most preased with theym and greattest maister. I dare nat write the horryble dedes that they dyd to ladyes and damoselles; amonge other they slewe a knight and after dyd put hym on a broche and rosted hym at the fyre in the syght of the lady his wyfe and his chyldren; and after that the lady had ben enforced and ravisshed with a x. or xii. thei made her perforce to eate of her husband, and after made her to dy an yvell deth and all her chyldren. They made among them a kynge, one of Cleremont in Beauvosyn; they chose hym that was moost ungracyoust of all other and they called hym kyng Jaques Goodman, and so therby they were called companyons of the Jaquery. They distroyed and brent in the countrey of Beauvosyn, about Corby, Amyense, and Montdydier, mo than threscore good houses and strong castelles. In lyke maner these unhappy people were in Bry and Arthoyes, so that all the ladyes, knyghtes and squyers of that contrey were fayne to flye away to Meaulx in Bry, as well the duches of Normandy and the duches of Orlyaunce as dyvers other ladyes and damosels, or els they had ben vyolated and after murdred. Also ther were a certayne of the same ungracyous peple bytwene Parys and Noyon and bytwene Parys and

Soyssons, and all about in the lande of Coucy, in the countie of Valoys, bytwene Brieche and Loan, Noyon and Soyssons. There were brent and distroyed mo than a hundred castelles and good houses of knyghtes and squyers in that countrey.

CAP. CLXXXII
The rysing of the commons.

CAP. CLXXXIII

Howe the provost of the marchantes of Parys caused walles to be made about the cytie of Parys.

THAN the gentylmen of Beauvosyn, of Corboys, of Vermandoys and of other landes, whereas these myschevous peple were conversant, sawe the woodnesse amonge them, they sent for socours to their frendes into Flanders, to Brabant, to Heynault, and to Behayne;[1] so ther came fro all parties; and so all these gentylmen strangers with them of the countrey assembled togyder and dyde sette on these people wher they might fynde them, and slewe and hanged them upon trees by heapes. The kynge of Naver on a day slewe of them mo than thre thousande besyde Cleremount in Beauvosyn. It was tyme to take them up, for and they hadde ben all togyder assembled they were mo than a hundred thousande; and whan they were demaunded why they dyd so yvell dedes, they wolde answere and say they coude nat tell, but that they dyd as they sawe other do, thynkyng therby to have distroyed all the nobles and gentylmen of the worlde. In the same season the duke of Normandy departed fro Parys, and was in dout of the kynge of Naver and of the provost of the marchauntes and of his sect, for they were all of one acorde. He rode to the brige of Charenton on the ryver of Marne, and ther he made a great sommons of gentylmen, and than defyed the provost of the marchantes and all his ayders. Than the provost was in dout of hym, that he wolde in the nyght tyme come and overron the cytie of Parys, the which as than was nat closed. Than he sette workemen a worke as many as he coude gette, and made great dykes all about Parys and began walles and gates; he had the space of one

[1] *Hesbaye.*

CAP. CLXXXIII

Walles made about Parys.

hole yere a thre hundred workmen contynually workyng. It was a gret dede to furnysshe an arme and to close with defence suche a cytie as Parys; surely it was the best dede that ever any provost dyd ther, for els it had ben after dyvers tymes overron and robbed by dyvers occasyons.

CAP. CLXXXIIII

Of the batayle at Meaulx in Bry, where the companyons of the Jaquery were disconfyted by therle of Foix and the captall of Buz.

IN the season whyle these ungracious people raygned, there came out of Pruce the erle of Foyx and the captall of Buz his cosyn; and in ther way they herde, as they shulde have entred into Fraunce of the great myschefe that fell among the noblemen by these unhappy people: and in the cytie of Meaulx was the duches of Normandy and the duches of Orleaunce, and a thre hundred other ladyes and damosels, and the duke of Orleance also. Than the two sayd knyghtes agreed to go and se these ladyes and to confort them to their powers; howebeit the captall was Englysshe, but as than it was truse bytwene the two kynges: they had in their company a threscore speares. And whan they were come to Meaulx in Bry, they were welcome to the ladyes and damosels ther: and whan those of the Jaquery understode that ther was at Meaulx suche a nombre of ladyes, yong damoselles and noble chyldren, than they assembled togyder and with them they of Valoys, and so came to Meaulx. And also certayne of Parys that herd therof went to them, so that they were in all a nyne thousand and dayly mo resorted to them: so they came to the gates of the towne of Meaulx and the peple of the towne opyned the gates and suffred them to entre, so that all the streates were full of theym to the market place, whereas these noble ladyes were lodged in a stronge place closed about with the ryver of Marne: there came such a nombre agaynst them that the ladyes were sore afrayed. Than these two knightes and their company came to the gate of the markette place and yssued out and sette on those vilayns, who were but

yvell armed, therle of Foyx baner and the duke of Orleance, and the captals penon: and whan these vilayns saw these men of warr well aparelled yssued out to defende the place, the formast of them began to recule backe, and the gentylmen pursued them with their speares and swerdes; and whan thei felde the great strokes, they reculed all at ones and fell for hast ech on other. Than all the noble men yssued out of the baryers and anone wan the place, and entred in among their ennemyes and beate them downe by heapes and slewe them lyke beestes and chased them all out of the towne, and slewe so many that thei were wery, and made many of them by heapes to fly into the ryver. Briefely, that day they slewe of them mo than sevyn thousand, and none had scaped if they wolde a folowed the chase any farther. And whan these men of armes retourned agayne to the towne, they sette fyre thereon and brende it clene and all the vilayns of the towne that they coude close therin, bycause they tooke part with the Jaquery. After this disconfyture thus done at Meaulx they never assembled agayne togyder after, for the yong Ingram, lord of Coucy had about hym certayne men of warre, and they ever slewe theym as they myght mete with theym without any mercy.

CAP. CLXXXIIII
Of the batayle of Meaulx in Bry.

CAP. CLXXXV

Howe Parys was besieged by the duke of Normandy, regent of Fraunce.

ANONE after this adventure, the duke of Normandy assembled all the noble men togyder that he coude gette as well of the realme as of the empyre for his wages; so that he had a thre thousande speares, and so went and layed siege to Parys towarde saynt Antoyne along by the ryver of Sayne, and was lodged hymselfe at saynt More and his men ther about, and every day they ran skirmysshing to the walles of Parys. And somtyme the duke lay at Charenton and another season at saynt More so that nothyng came to Parys on that syde nother by lande nor by water, for the duke caused bothe the ryvers of Sayne and Marne to be surely kept and brende all the villages about Parys,

CAP. CLXXXV

Howe Parys was besieged by the duke of Normandy.

suche as were nat closed, the better therby to chastyce theym of Parys; and if Parys had nat than ben fortifyed with walles and dykes it had bene distroyed: none durst go into Parys nor go out for feare of the dukes men who rode on bothe sydes the ryver of Sayne at his pleasure; ther were none to resyst them. The provost kept styll in love the kyng of Naverr and toke of hym counsayle; and the commons day and nyght dyd worke on the defence of the cytie and kept a great nombre of men of warre, Naveroyse and Englysshe archers and other companyons. There was in the cytie certayne well dysposed persons, as John Mayllart and Symonde his brother and dyverse of their lynage, that were sore dyspleased of the duke of Normandyes yvell wyll; but the provost had so drawen to his opynion all maner of men, that none durst say contrary to hym without he were slayne without mercy. The kyng of Naver seyng the varyaunce bytwene them of Parys and the duke of Normandy thought and supposed that the mater coude nat long endure in that state and he had no great trust to the commontie of Parys, and so he departed thense as curtesly as he myght and went to saynt Denyce, and there he kepte with hym a good nombre of soudyers at the wages of them of Parys. The duke thus lay a sixe wekes at Charenton, and the kyng of Naverre at saynt Denyce; they pylled and eate up the countre on every syde: bytwene these parties entreated for a peace, the archbysshoppe of Senus, the bysshoppe of Ausser, the byshoppe of Beaumoys, the lorde of Momorency, the lorde of Fyenes, and the lorde of saynt Venant; and so often they went bytwene the parties and so sagely demeaned their busynesse, that the kyng of Naverre with his owne good wyll without constreynt went to Charenton to the duke of Normandy and excused hymselfe of that he was had in suspecte; first, of the dethe of the two knightes and of maister Symonde Bucy, and of the dispyte that the provost had done to hym in the paleys of Parys. And ther he sware that it was unknowen to him, and there promysed the duke to stycke with hym in good and yvell, and there peace was made bytwene them: and the kynge of Naver sayde howe he wolde cause them of Parys to make amendes for that they had done. The duke

CAP. CLXXXV

Howe Parys was besieged by the duke of Normandy.

was content that the commons of Parys shulde have peace soo that he myght have the provost and xii. other burgesses, suche as he wolde chose within Parys to correct theym at his pleasure. All these thynges agreed, the kynge of Naver retourned to saynt Denyce and the duke went to Meaulx in Bry and gave leave to all his men of warre to depart. Certayne burgesses of Parys suche as hadde holpen to make the sayd treaty desyred the duke to come to Parys, sayeng howe they shulde do hym all the honoure they myght. The duke answered and sayd he wolde kepe the peace made and that he had sworne unto without any brekyng of his part; but to entre into Parys surely (he sayd) he wolde never tyll he had satysfactyon of theym that had dyspleased hym. The provost of the marchantes and his sect often tymes visyted the kyng of Naverre at saynt Denyce, and shewed hym howe they were in the indygnacion of the duke of Normandy for his sake, bycause they delyvered hym out of prison and brought hym to Parys; therfore they sayd to hym, Sir, for Goddessake have no great truste in the duke nor in his counsayle. The kynge sayd, Certaynly frendes ye shall have none yvell, but my part shal be therin, and seyng ye have as nowe the governaunce of Parys, I wolde counsayle you to provyde yourselfe of golde and sylver, so that if ye have nede by that ye may ever helpe yourselfe, and hardely sende it hyder to saynt Denyce, on the trust of me, and I shall kepe hit well, and shall alwayes entertayne men of warre secretly, that if ye have nede shall make warre agaynst your ennemyes. So thus after this the provost two tymes a weke sende ever to saynte Denyce two somers charged with floreyns to the kynge of Naverr, who receyved the money with gladde chere.

CAP. CLXXXVI

Of the Parisyens that were slayne at saynt Clude by thenglysshmen that had bene sodyers in Paris.

ALL this season there were in Parys a great nombre of men of warre, Englysshe and Naveroyse, retayned in wages by the provost and by the commons of the cytie to ayde them agaynst the duke of Normandy, who

CAP. CLXXXVI

Of the Parisyens that were slayne at saynt Clude by thenglysshmen.

bare themselfe right well the warr duryng; but whan the peace was made bytwene the Parisyens and the duke, certayne of these soudyours departed fro Parys and some abode there styll; suche as departed went to the kynge of Naver who receyved them into wages; ther abode styll in Parys a thre hundred; they sported them and spende merely their money. On a day a stryfe fell bytwene theym and they of Parys and ther were slayne of theym a threscore, wherof the provost blamed greatly them of the cytie. Howebeit to apease the commons he toke mo than a hundred and fyftie and put theym in prison in thre gates, and sayd to the commons howe they shulde all be slayne and corrected acordyng to their trespaces; wherby the commons were apeased. But whan nyght came the provost caused them to be delyvered out of prison, and put them out of the towne at their lybertie; and so they went to saynt Denyce to the kynge of Naver and he receyved and retayned theym all. In the next mornynge, whan they of Parys knewe the delyveraunce of the Englysshmen out of prison, they were greatly dyspleased with the provost; but he lyke a wyse man dyssembled the mater tyll it was forgoten. These Englysshe and Naveroyse soudyers, whan they were toguyder at saynt Denyce, they were mo than thre hundred: they determyned to be revenged of them of Parys for the dispyte done to them: than they defyed theym of Parys, and made eger warre agaynst theym, and to slee all maner of people of Parys that yssued out, so that they durst nat go out of their gates. Than they of the cytie desyred the provost that he wolde cause parte of the commons to be armed, and to yssue out into the feldes to fyght with the Englysshmen. The provost agreed therto and sayd howe he wolde go with them hymselfe; so on a day he caused to be armed a xii. hundred and so yssued out; and than they herde howe the Englysshmen that made them warre were about saynt Clude: than they departed them into two companyes to the entent that their ennemyes shulde nat scape them, and poynted to mete togyder at a certayne place besyde saynt Clude; so they went by two wayes: the one partie went all daye about Mount Marter, and coude nat fynde their enemyes; and

CAP. CLXXXVI

Of the Parisyens that were slayne at saynt Clude by thenglysshmen.

the provost who had the lesse part about noone returned and entred into Parys at the gate saynt Martyne and had done nothynge. The other company who knewe nat of the provostes returnyng taryed styll in the feldes tyll it was towardes night; thane they retourned homewarde without array or good order, for they thought than to have no trouble and so they went weryly by heapes; some bare his salette in his hande, some on his backe, some drewe their swerdes after them naked and some in the shethes. They toke their way to entre into Parys by the gate saynt Honoure and sodenly as they went they founde thenglysshmen in a lowe way; they were a foure hundred well apoynted. Whan they saw the Frenchmen, they sette on them and at the first metyng they bete downe mo than two hundred; than the Frenchmen fledde and were beate downe lyke beestes. Ther were slayne in that chase mo than sixe hundred and they were pursued to the barryers of Parys. Of this adventure the provost was greatly blamed of the commons; they sayd howe he had betrayed them. The next day in the mornynge, the frendes of them that were slayne yssued out of Parys to seek the deed bodyes to bury them, and the Englysshmen hadde made a busshment, and there agayne they slewe and hurt mo than sixscore. Thus in this myschiefe and trouble were they of Parys; they wyst nat of whom to beware; they were night and day in great feare: also the kyng of Naverre began to waxe colde in aydinge of them bycause of the peace that he had sworne to the duke of Normandy, and also for the outrage that they of Paris had done to thenglysshe soudyers, wherfore he well consented that they shulde be chastysed; also the duke of Normandy dyd suffre it, bycause the provost of the marchantes had the governyng of the cytie. The provost and his sect were natte all in suretie, for the commons spake shamefully of them as they were enfourmed.

CAP. CLXXXVII

Of the dethe of the provost of the marchauntes of Parys.

THE provost and his sect had among themself dyvers counsaylles secretly, to know howe they shulde maynteene themselfe, for they coude fynde by no meanes any mercy in the duke of Normandy; for he sende worde generally to all the commens of Parys that he wolde kepe with them no lenger peace, without he had delyverd into his handes xii. of Parys, suche as he wolde chose, to do with them his pleasure; the which thyng gretly abasshed the provost and his company. Finally, they sawe well that it were better for them to save their lyves, goodes and frendes, ratherr than to be distroyed, and that it were better for theym to slee thane to be slayne. Than secreatly they treated with thenglysshmen, such as made warre agaynst Parys; and they agreed bytwene theym that the provost and his sect shulde be at the gate saynt Honoure and at the gate saynt Anthoyne at the houre of mydnight and to lette in the Englysshmen and Naveroyse provyded redy to overronne the cytie and to dystroy and robbe it clene, except suche houses as hadde certayne signes lymyted among theym, and in all other houses without suche tokens to slee menne, womenne, and chyldren. The same nyght that this shulde have been done, God enspyred certayne burgesses of the cytie, suche as alwayes were of the dukes partie; as Johanne Mayllart and Symonde his brother and dyvers other, who by dyvyne inspyracion, as hit ought to be supposedde, were enfourmed that Parys shulde be that nyght distroyed. They incontynent armed theym and shewed the mater in other places to have more ayde; and a lytell before mydnight they came to the gate saint Anthoyne and there they founde the provost of the marchauntes with the kayes of the gates in his handes. Thanne John Mayllart sayde to the provost, callynge hym by his name, Stephyne, what do you here at this houre. The provost answered and sayd, Johanne, what wolde ye; I am here to

take hede to the towne, wherof I have the governynge. By God, sayde John, ye shall natte go so: ye are nat here at this houre for any good, and that may be sene by the kayes of the gates that ye have in your handes; I thynke it be to betray the towne. Quod the provost, Johanne, ye lye falsely. Nay, sayd Johann, Stephyn, thou lyest falsely lyke a treatour; and therwith strake at hym, and sayd to his company, Slee the treatours. Thane every man strake at theym; the provost wolde a fledde, but John Mayllart gave him with an axe on the heed that he fyll downe to the yerthe, and yet he was his gossyppe, and lefte nat tyll he was slayne and sixe of theym that were there with hym, and the other taken and putte in prison. Thane people began to styrre in the stretes, and John Mayllart and they of his acorde went to the gate saynt Honoure, and there they founde certayne of the provostes secte, and there they layde treason to them, but their excuses avayled nothyng. There were dyvers taken and send into dyvers places to prison, and suche as wolde nat be taken were slayn without mercy. The same night they went and toke dyvers in their beddes, suche as were culpable of the treason by the confessyon of suche as were taken. The next day John Mayllart assembled the moost parte of the commons in the markette hall, and there he mounted on a stage and shewedde generally the cause why he hadde slayne the provoste of the marchauntes; and ther, by the counsayle of all the wysmen, all suche as were of the sect of the provost were juged to the dethe, and so they were executed by dyvers tourmentes of dethe. Thus done, John Mayllart, who was thane greatly in the grace of the commons of Parys and other of his adherentes, sende Symonde Mayllart and two maisters of the parlyament, sir Johann Alphons and maister John Pastorell, to the duke of Normandy, beyng at Charenton. They shewed the duke all the mater, and desyred hym to come to Parys to ayde and to counsayle them of the cytie fro thensforthe, sayeng, that all his adversaryes were deed. The duke sayde With ryght a good wyll; and so he came to Parys, and with hym sir Arnolde Dandrehen, the lorde of Roy and other knyghtes, and he lodged at Lour.

CAP. CLXXXVII

Of the dethe of the provost of the marchauntes of Parys.

CAP. CLXXXVIII

How the kyng of Naver defied the realme of France, the kyng beyng prisoner in England.

WHAN the kyng of Naverr knewe the trauth of the dethe of the provost, his great frende, and of other of his sect, he was sore displeased bicause the provost had ben ever to hym right favorable and bycause the brunt went that he was chiefe heed of the provostes treason; so all thynges consydred and by the counsell of the lorde Philyp of Naver his brother who was ther with hym at saint Denice they determyned to make warr to the realm of France. Than incontynent he sende his defyance to the duke of Normandy, to the Parisyence, and to the hole body of the realme of Fraunce; and than he departed fro saynt Denyce, and his men overranne the towne at his departynge and robbed it; and also Melynne on the ryver of Sayne where as quene Blanche his sustre was, somtyme wyfe to kyng Philyppe, the which lady receyved hym joyfully, and dyde putte all that she had to his pleasure; and the kyng of Naver made of that towne and castell his principall garyson, and retayned men of warr, Almaygnes, Brabanses, Heynowers, Behaignenoyes, and fro every place where he might gette them. Men were gladde to serve hym, for he payed largely; he hadde ynough wherwith of suche money as he had gette by the ayde of the provost of the marchantes of them of Parys and of other townes there aboute. The lorde Philyppe of Naverre went to Maunt, and to Meulence on the ryver of Sayne and there he made his garysons: every day the kyng of Navers company encreased. Thus the kyng of Naverre and his men beganne to make warre to the realme of Fraunce and specially to the noble cytie of Parys. They were maisters of the ryvers of Sayne, Marne, and Doysse; these Naveroyse multiplyed in suche wyse that they toke perforce the strong towne of Craell, wherby they were maisters of the ryver of Doysse; and also they wanne the stronge castell of Hereel, a thre leages fro Amyense; and after they wanne Mau-

CAP. CLXXXVIII

How the kyng of Naver defied the realme of France.

consell. These thre fortresses dyde after great dysturbaunce to the realme of France; there were a fyftene hundred that overranne all the countre without any resystence: and anone after they wanne the castell of saynt Valery where they made a strong garyson; and ther they made sir Wyllyam of Bonnemare and John of Segures capitayns, with fyve hundred men, and they over ran the countrey to Depe, to Abbevyle, and to the portes of Crotoy, of Roy, and of Mutterell. Whane the Naveroyse harde of a castell or towne though it were right stronge they made no doutes to get it. Often tymes they wold ryde in a night thyrtie leages and come into a countrey wher they had no doute. Thus they stale and wan castels and fortresses in the realme of Fraunce and somtyme toke knyghtes and ladyes in their beddes, and some raunsomed, and fro some toke all that they had and than putte them out of their owne houses. They made capitayne of the towne of Craell the lorde Fondregas of Naver; he gave and graunted save conductes to them that wolde passe to Parys, to Noyon, or fro Noyon to Compaygne, or fro thens to Soyssons or to Laon and to other places. These save conductes were well worthe to hym whyle he lay at Craell, a hundred thousande frankes: and at the castell of Hereell lay the lorde John of Piquegny Pycarde, who was a good Naveroyse; his men constrayned sore them of Mountdedyer, of Arras, of Peronne and of Amyense and all the countrey of Picardy along the ryver of Some. In the castell of Mauconsell ther were thre hundred men of warre and Rabenoyes of Durychars, Franquelyn[1] and Hannekyn were chiefe capitayns. They overranne the countrey aboute Noyon; all the great townes of the countrey that were nat closed about Noyon wer raunsomed to pay every weke a certayne somme of floreyns; and also the abbeyes were fayne to do the same or els they had been brende and distroyed they were so cruel on their ennemys. So by these maner of people the landes were voyde and nat laboured, wherby a great darthe rose in the realme of Fraunce.

[1] *Rabigot de Dury, Richard Franklin.*

END OF VOLUME I.

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